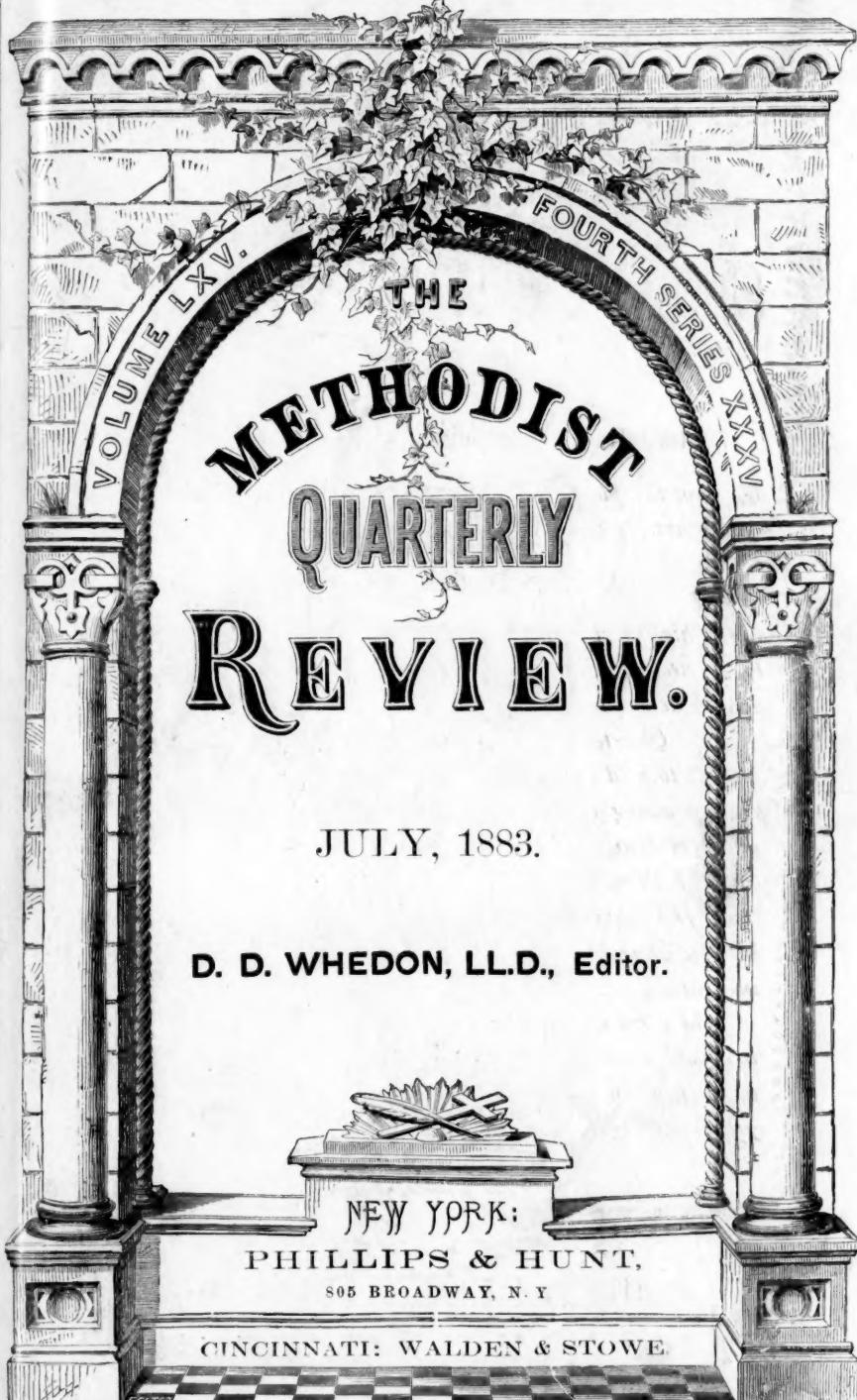
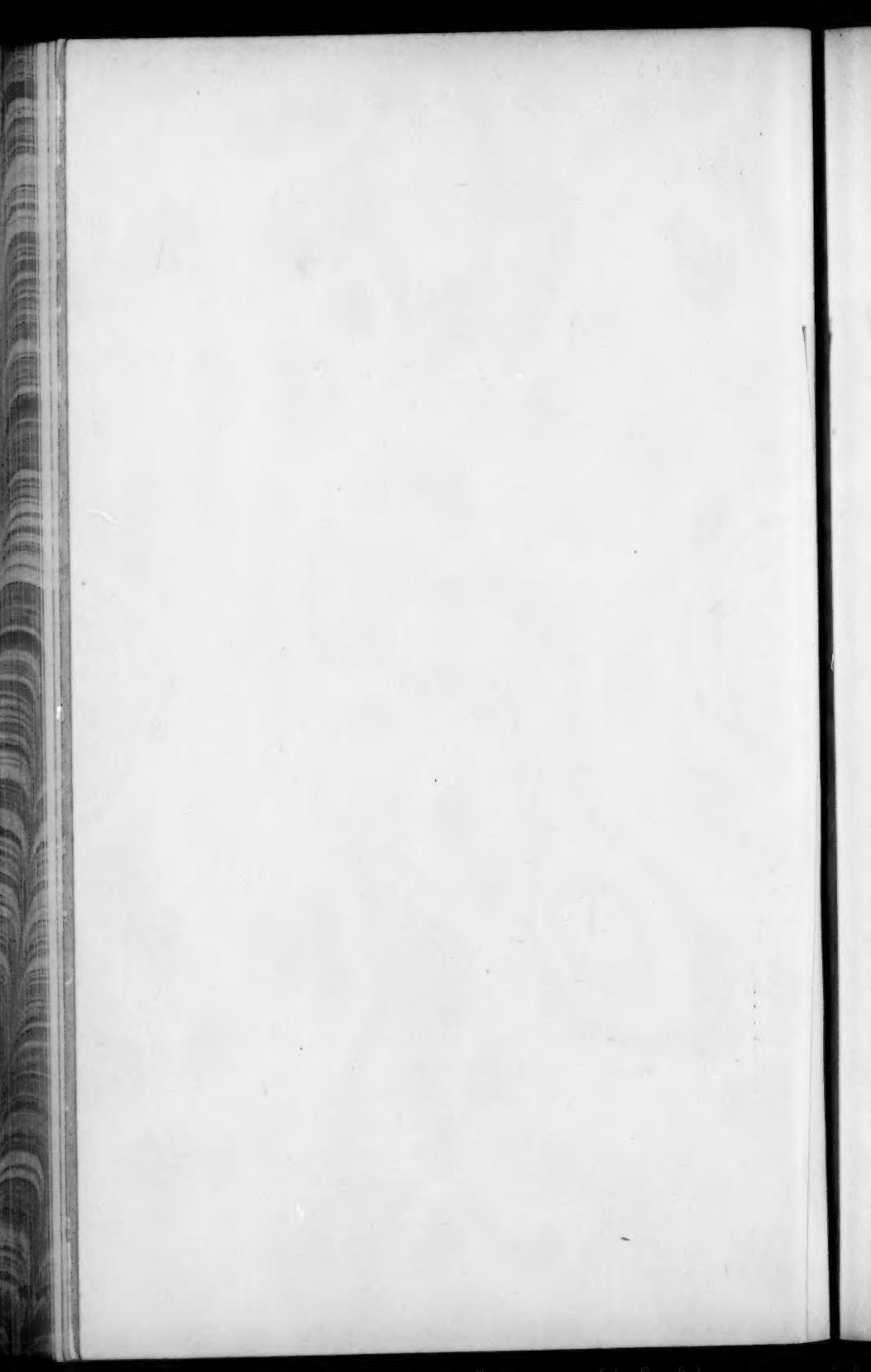


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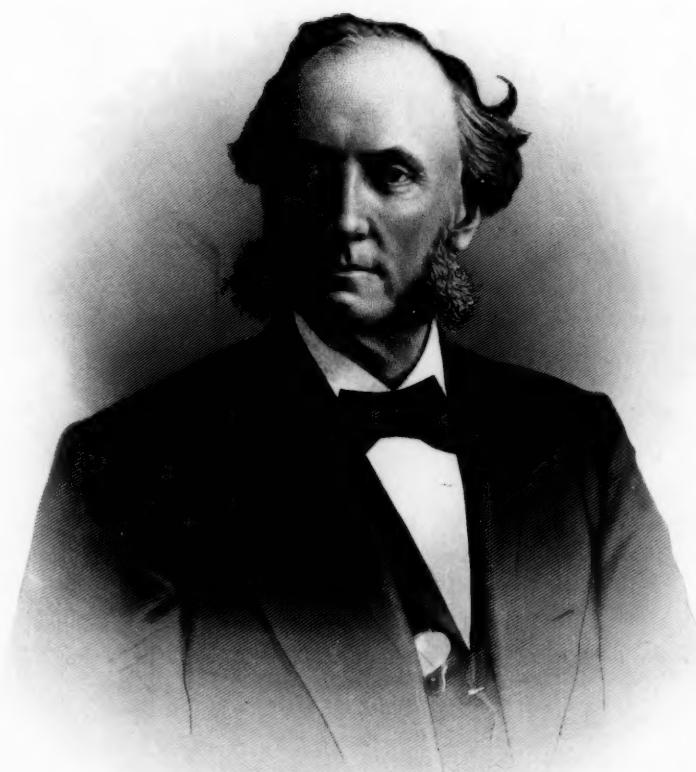


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Engraved by A. H. Dashiell

R.S. Dashiell

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1883.

ART. I.—ROBERT LAURENSEN DASHIELL, D.D.

ROBERT L. DASHIELL, son of Robert and Mary R. Dashiell, was born at Salisbury, Maryland, June 25, 1825. His ancestry on his father's side were of French Huguenot extraction, and, settling in Somerset County in 1665, have always been prominent citizens. In 1691, when the Church of England was established by law in Maryland, the Dashiell family became Episcopalians, and Green Hill Church, Stepney Parish, built in 1733, now moldering in ruin on the bank of the Wicomico, shows on its records that two thirds of the wardens and vestrymen were named Dashiell.

His mother, Mary Rider, was of that class of English colonists dominant in the settlement of Maryland, with, perhaps, an infusion of the strong Puritan element which was driven from Virginia into the adjoining State, and which made Maryland somewhat like New England in blood, ideas, and religion; although the economic conditions, such as the parceling of the land in vast plantations, tobacco-raising, and slave labor, gave the State a resemblance to the South.

Nowhere had Methodism a more auspicious beginning than in Delaware and Maryland. Particularly on the Eastern Shore it found a clear field among a fine population, chiefly English and Scotch, free from Roman Catholic influence. In ministry and laity, Methodism in this section was fortunate. Strawbridge, Freeborn Garrettson, Asbury, Coke, and a grand host

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who came after, laid foundations upon which rose a Church built of the best elements of an excellent population, including many influential families like the Goughs, Bassetts, Whites, and Barretts, whose opulence and social position "gave material strength to the Church, while their exemplary devotion helped to maintain its purity and power." The stateliest homes, like Perry Hall, which Coke calls "the most elegant house in the State," and the spacious and splendid Bassett mansion at Bohemia Manor, were homes, refuges, and preaching-places for the early ministers: and from the time of Governor Bassett, of Delaware, down to the days when Governor Hollyday Hicks held Maryland to the Union, in 1861, many governors, senators, judges, and prominent citizens of both States have been ardent Methodists. Quite equal to the high social rank of Methodism here was its spirituality and fruitfulness, in which quantity kept pace with quality. On the Peninsula it has been exceedingly productive from 1772, when Robert Williams founded the first society on the Eastern Shore, until now, when Methodism is estimated to have one third of the population, all other Churches together not having equal strength. A great array of ministers of strong character and talents this soil has produced. The first Society, formed by Strawbridge, of twelve or fifteen persons at Sam's Creek, early furnished five preachers. A single church in a small village has been known to send nine of its boys almost simultaneously into the itinerancy. The region which has reared such men as Bishop Emory, Lawrence M'Combs, Robert Seney—father of George I. Seney, Esq.—George Pickering, Ezekiel Cooper, Solomon Sharp, James Nichols, William Phoebus, Bishop Scott, B. H. Nadal, the two Dashiells, J. A. Roche, H. B. Ridgaway, Bishop Hurst, R. H. Pattison—father of Gov. Pattison, of Pennsylvania—and many others eminent in usefulness, may be justly proud of its sons.

When Freeborn Garrettson was preaching in a wood at Broad Creek, Sussex County, an aged couple, named Ryder, heard him, and invited him to their house at Quantico. He went, and, with this couple for a nucleus, formed the first Methodist Society in Somerset County, in 1778; since which, Lednum says, "there have been many valuable Methodists of the Ryder family about Quantico and Salisbury." These "dear old people," as Garrettson called them, living on a large

plantation on the Mantico, in a home of abundance, thrift, and religion, were the maternal great-grandparents of Robert L. Dashiell. Their house was a home and a church for Asbury and other early preachers, and Jesse Lee there baptized Dashiell's mother, whose life-long fidelity to early vows entitled her children to Hooker's benediction, "Blessed forever be that mother's child whose faith hath made him the child of God." Although Mary Rider married an Episcopalian, she maintained her devotion to her Church, so that her children were born into positively Methodist atmosphere.

In the spring of 1826, Rev. Lawrence Laurenson, then Presiding Elder of the lower district, old Philadelphia Conference, so captivated Robert Dashiell, as well as his wife, that their babe, about one year old, being named Robert for his father, was named Laurenson for the minister who baptized him, and who was one of the most eloquent and attractive of the preachers on the Peninsula. Around the early life of the boy thus baptized, the power of such men as Levi Scott, T. J. Thompson, Henry White, George G. Cookman, and Matthew Sorin shed its illumination.

"Larry," as he was called, had a genuine, full-blooded, frolicsome boyhood. He was amiable, handsome, jubilant, playful, irrepressible, but not addicted to vices of any kind; so full of pranks, that almost every mischievous thing was laid to his charge. Strong health, active mind, and exuberant spirits made him a leader among his comrades. He early showed a passion for public speaking, for which he found exciting occasions in political campaigns, notably that of 1840, when he figured as champion Whig stump-speaker among the boys of his village, pitted against a Democratic boy, named Collins. These two rallied the juvenile partisans of Salisbury, and hot debates sometimes passed from words to fisticuffs. This merry boyhood went on until he was fifteen, when all at once life exploded its great realities about him, and he stood startled, flushed, thinking fast, and feeling intensely, as one who hears suddenly close at hand the opening thunders of a battle. His father's failure in business, his own conversion, the return from college of his elder brother, John Huston, embodying to the eye and imagination of the boy the results and value of a collegiate education—these events ended boyhood for him, and brought

in the period when youth begins to reach for its resources and stretch consciously toward manhood and an earnest future.

His father, a man of integrity, had been prosperously engaged for years in mercantile business in Salisbury. John H. Dashiell, on graduating from Dickinson College, was elected Principal of the academy at Salisbury, and also taught a Sabbath-school class, of which his brother, Robert, was a member. The entire class was soon converted under the pastorate of Rev. James Hargis. Dashiell ever cherished the memory of his spiritual father, and in manhood told how Hargis patted him on the back as he wept at the altar, saying, "Pray on, Larry," until the work of renewal was done. Many years after, Dashiell, when college president, found opportunity to pay this debt by bringing to God James Hargis' son, then a student at Dickinson, now Rev. J. H. Hargis, of the Newark Conference.

Soon after his conversion "Larry" felt ambitious, in view of his father's situation, to be independent, and secured a position as teacher in a primary school. Six months' teaching resulted in one hundred and twenty dollars, and a desire for a college education. With his brother's assistance he was prepared for college by September, 1843. He desired to enter Sophomore, but being found rusty on some studies was taken on trial for three months. If in that time he could overtake the Sophomores, well; if not, he must fall back with the Freshmen. When Dr. Durbin read off the standing after the Christmas examination, Dashiell's name was highest among the Sophomores, and when, a few moments after, he met the president on the campus and asked if he might be admitted to the Sophomore class, Dr. Durbin, smiling, said, "I think we'll risk it." That first toilsome year in college he always looked back upon as the most important of his life in the formation of character. He records that his entrance at Dickinson marked the beginning of a completer religious life, and says: "From the commencement of college life I made punctuality in all religious and college duties the supreme rule. I was never absent from church, prayers, or recitation, unless sick or out of town."

He was popular with the faculty, and also with the students, among whom he went by the name of "Dash." He was so poor that sometimes he fled out of one door as his

washer-woman came in the other, because he had no money to pay her. At close of sophomore year, funds being entirely exhausted, he obtained leave of absence, and became assistant to his brother, then principal of Light-street Institute, Baltimore; in addition to which he taught a night-school. In April, 1845, he returned to Carlisle, and in July passed up as a senior.

In his last year Dashiell had no competitor but Daniel Devinney, and a close strife divided honors equally. Devinney, five years older than Dashiell, mature, extraordinary in brilliancy and strength, intensely ambitious and studious, splendid, sensitive, and sad, ran a bright but brief career, which ended painfully. With this intense student Dashiell held an even position. In the society hall and on the chapel platform he was accorded the palm without dispute. He was the champion orator of the Union Philosophical Society, and always drew a crowded audience. His best friend in college was Dr. Emory, who impressed him more profoundly than any one else, and for whom his admiration knew no bounds. His room-mate, now Judge Robinson, of the Court of Appeals at Annapolis, after thirty-six years has not lost a similar enthusiasm, for he writes: "Durbin, though not strictly speaking a scholarly man, was a great reader, and had a wonderful fund of information at command; but Emory was in every sense a much stronger man, with talents of the highest order, and but for his early death would have been one of the most distinguished men of the age."

Emory, bidding Dashiell farewell after graduation, said, "Robert, I am not a judge of duty for others, but my impression is that God has work for you in his Church. If you hear a voice calling you to preach, beware of disobeying it." In order to cancel his educational debt, the young graduate returned to his brother's Institute to teach, intending to go afterward into law and politics: but the parting words of Emory abode with him, and were re-enforced by Rev. L. F. Morgan and Rev. James Allen, until one morning he came down early into the library and said to his brother, who had insisted on his studying law: "I have spent a sleepless night in prayer, and my conviction is that it is my duty to preach the Gospel. Woe is me if I preach not." This conviction he followed without delay. From Baltimore, about this time, three notable young men set out upon itinerant life: Otis H.

Tiffany, being a year in advance of the other two, and Alfred Cookman joining the Philadelphia, in the spring of 1848, when Robert L. Dashiell entered the Baltimore, Conference.

One sunny April morning young Dashiell mounted his pony, "Harry Clay," and rode from home to his first appointment, West River Circuit. When but a week an itinerant he writes in his journal, "One prayer I shall put up daily—Lord, make me a good pastor rather than a brilliant preacher;" yet he seems to relish preaching, for before he has been a month on the circuit he records that, one morning at "Friendship" Church, he preached an hour and a quarter. In 1850 he was sent to Loudoun Circuit, one of the most wealthy and cultured of rural sections, and, down to its desolation by the war, the story of his eloquence and unequalled popularity could be heard anywhere on the circuit. In 1852 he was appointed to Union Chapel, in the city of Washington, where large audiences and a considerable revival marked his pastorate. The charge prospered abundantly. In 1854 he went to Wesley Chapel, Washington, as assistant to Rev. James H. Brown, devoting himself mainly to a new enterprise on Capitol Hill, which dedicated its edifice, "Waugh Chapel," before the close of his term. While in Washington, he met, received into the Church, and married Miss Mary J. Hanly, who now survives him, with three daughters and a son. The reports of his Washington pastorates are enthusiastic. In 1856 he was sent to Baltimore as one of four ministers on the "City Station," comprising four churches, Light St., Eutaw St., Wesley and Spring Garden chapels. The four men rotated among the four churches. Divided labors and responsibilities did not work well. The personal magnetism of one man could not obtain much hold on thirteen hundred members operated upon continually by three others. The next two years Dashiell was at Charles St., following B. F. Brooke and a great revival. Finding prosperity in full tide, he increased it, and the church became the strongest in Baltimore.

In the summer of 1857, a boyhood friend, now Judge Irving, of the Maryland Court of Appeals, then residing in Cincinnati, happening to be in Baltimore over Sunday, went in the morning to hear Dashiell preach. He found the house crowded, with aisles full of benches and chairs. Notwithstanding his old friend was in a remote part of the house, the preacher

spied him, and as he closed his sermon, called on Irving to pray, saying, as the congregation was kneeling, "God converted us at the same time and has kept us faithful, you practicing your profession in a distant city and me preaching his everlasting Gospel." This introduction, added to the unexpected call to pray, came near proving too much for the astonished lawyer. After twelve years in the Baltimore Conference, during which he attained first rank as pastor and preacher, he was transferred in 1860 to the Newark Conference, to occupy the pulpit of Central Church, Newark, one of the most cathedral-like buildings in Methodism, and which is still unsurpassed in the pure Gothic stateliness of its interior. Both church and pastor were in the glow and vigor of young life. A pastorate highly successful in all respects resulted. Then followed two good years at Trinity Church, Jersey City, during which he was instrumental in founding the Children's Home for the Education of Indigent Children in that city.

In 1864 he returned to Newark as pastor of St. Paul's Church. The industries of the city were paralyzed by the war. The church had small congregations, was in debt twenty-one thousand dollars, and sorely depressed. He addressed himself at once to the debt, and in seven months the whole amount was raised. In the winter about one hundred were added to the church, many of whom are now its most active members. His three years at St. Paul's opened a new era for the church, and two pastorates in Newark gave him an honored name and wide influence among its citizens. In 1867 he became pastor at Orange, N. J. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him simultaneously by Rutgers College and Wesleyan University. On Sept. 8, 1868, he was chosen President of Dickinson College, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Dr. H. M. Johnson.

The situation of Dickinson at this time was critical, and required a president of peculiar qualities. He must give promise of being able to regain for the institution its lost constituency. His history and affiliations must be such as to propitiate both Northern and Southern sentiment. These necessities asked for a man from the border who might be in himself a bond of union. Dashiell, whose life had been divided between Maryland and New Jersey, and whose influence was thus outlying in both directions, suited Dickinson's need. The presidency

must have a man of wide access to the general public and to men of influence and wealth. Such considerations of policy largely determined the selection and outlined the work of the new man. Dr. Dashiell went to Carlisle in the prime of his manhood, with a successful record and a wide acquaintance-ship, to undertake a difficult task. The affairs of the college were at a low ebb. It had suffered immensely from the war. In *ante-bellum* days the pro-slavery element among trustees and students had alienated Northern sympathy; the war cut off all patronage from the South; and the college, unsupported by either, was in imminent peril of sinking forever. The speech of welcome made to him in behalf of trustees and faculty said, "Your old mother, Dickinson, for some years has been strug-gling along with palsied limbs in poverty and neglect. One who came before you to steady her tottering steps sank under the burden and we buried him. Put your strong arm around her and hold her up."

To this not over-cheerful address the new President re-sponded in happiest vein. His first words were to the "young gentlemen," whom he told with winning lightsomeness and felicitous witchery of expression how, when aroused that morn-ing by the familiar tones of the old college bell, he had seemed to awake to one of his own student days, and was on the point of calling his chum, when he remembered that student-life was twenty-two years gone, and far different days had come. Then, turning to his associates of the faculty, he spoke reverently and touchingly of Emory, and invoked that the mantle of that illustrious model might fall on him. A member of the faculty writes, "With a heart full of kindly instincts, at once digni-fied and affable, quick and skilled in knowledge of human nature, intelligent and prompt as an officer in the dispatch of his proper business, he brought high qualities to his office."

Bending his energies promptly to the scanty and urgent situation, he did much to rehabilitate the fortunes of his *alma mater*. With fine executive abilities he gave faithful attention to details. He raised funds for extensive repairs and improve-ments to college buildings. From Saturday to Monday he was usually away, spending Sundays in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphie, New York, Pittsburg, and elsewhere, preaching and seeking to gain friends, funds, and students for the institution.

The rest of the week he devoted closely to the internal work of the college. The number of students gradually increased, and in his last year more entered than in any year of his or the previous presidency. He made every effort to stimulate interest in college life. The citizens were invited to weekly open-air concerts on the campus during the appropriate season. The custom of planting class-trees for the beautifying of the grounds was revived. Half-holiday excursions to the springs, caves, and spurs of the Blue Ridge mountains were encouraged. He organized the poorer students into a club, the table of which he kept largely supplied by mysterious arrivals of provisions from Philadelphia and Baltimore, reducing board to a mere trifle. Sick students, rich and poor, were fed from the president's own table. He strove to keep alive among the students a high sentiment of manhood, and to work that sentiment upon the side of college regulations. In this he so far succeeded that it was considered "a shame to lie to Dr. Larry."

Instead of putting college societies under ban, he became their patron and made them arms of power to his administration, holding each fraternity responsible for the honor of its members, and calling the attention of the best men in each to the misdoings of any, that it might protect itself from the disgrace of having its members disciplined. He acted the part of a pastor to the students, visiting, conversing, and sympathizing with them. In his inaugural address he told them that while he came as a college officer, he came as a personal friend to every one, and thenceforth every student knew that if he needed a friend he would find one in the president.

Dashiell inclined more to kindness than to discipline. He has been known to conceal a young man's misdeeds from the faculty, laboring secretly meanwhile to win the misdoer to amendment; saying to himself, "I am going to save that boy, law or no law." When the martinets of the faculty remonstrated against some stretch of kindness which they thought relaxed unwisely the discipline of the college, he would say, "Well, the pastor got the better of the president." Yet his government did not expose itself to contempt. College rebellions ended in the triumph of authority. The Sophomore and Freshman classes combined against a member of the faculty, and were suspended. On Saturday morning the president, after his

chapel prayer, began his remarks with the quotation, "Of law there can no less be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the world." Then followed a clear statement of the difficulty and of the faculty's action. The two classes were given until Monday morning to surrender or go home, and were bidden to retire with the sententious remark, "Young gentlemen, empty benches can be refilled, but life is too short for the recovery of lost dignity." The next morning Dr. Dashiell preached an Easter sermon in Emory Chapel, and not one of the college rebels was missing from the service, under which few were unmoved. The rebellion vanished between Saturday and Monday.

The genial president was not averse to the students' favorite maxim, *Dulce est despere in loco*, and on occasion joined in college mirth. At one time there was irregularity in the ringing of the college bell, and Dr. Dashiell remarked to one of the Seniors that the old colored janitor evidently needed a new watch. Upon this hint a watch was provided by the Seniors, and the president's permission secured for a public presentation after elocutionary exercises in the hall. The "Major," as he was called, from having been a servant, in the Southern army, to General Joseph E. Johnston, was meanwhile privately drilled in a speech, but without being informed of the nature of the occasion. At the close of the elocutionary hour the faculty dropped in, the Major was summoned, and, having been solemnly arraigned by a chosen Senior for failing to observe schedule time, was presented with a watch warranted to regulate his bell-ringing. Thereupon Dr. Dashiell, supposing the ceremonies ended, was about to bow the sable recipient out, when the Major broke forth in a vociferous speech to the professors: "Learned literatuses, de perihelion am in de ascendin' node, and wen you see de great Jubiter comin' ober de mountin ridge, riding on a jack wid ears on him like a terbacer plant, den you may say, *Sic semper tyraliter*. Literatuses vale, iterim vale! *Io triomphe!*" In the laughter which followed this deliverance nobody joined more heartily than the president.

Dashiell's intercourse with the Board of Trustees was manly and frank, and his reports and recommendations clear-sighted and business-like. Teaching was not his delight, and probably there was not an hour of his presidency when he would not

rather preach a sermon than hear a recitation. But if not an eminently learned and accurate scholar, he had resources more needful to the post he was called to fill. Upon this point one of his students quotes words which are accredited to Lord Ashburton: "As in choosing the builder of my house I do not select the man who has the most materials in his yard, but by reference to his skill, ingenuity, and taste; so also, in testing an orator or teacher, I satisfy myself that they fulfill the comparatively easy condition of possessing sufficient materials of knowledge with which to work, and then I look to those high and noble qualities which are the characteristics of their peculiar calling. There were hundreds in Athens who knew more than Demosthenes, many at Rome who knew more than Cicero; yet there was but one Demosthenes and one Cicero."

Notwithstanding the new president's determined assault all along the line of obstacles and embarrassments, difficulties apparently insuperable remained in the way of success. It was necessary to attract attention and attendance upon Dickinson, to restore alienated sympathies, and to bridge chasms of indifference which threatened to isolate the college and leave it to its fate. But there was great difficulty in drawing students. Carlisle was off main lines of travel, up a valley road, remote from cities and centers. This was an obstacle, also, to bringing visitors, at Commencement or any other time, to see the college and its needs. The institution was poor, the faculty inharmonious.*

Against the adverse situation Dashiell labored earnestly for two years, and then became convinced that success, if possible at all, could only come by long, disheartening toil. He felt that life was too short for him to wait a dozen weary years for a slow and dubious result. In the latter part of his presidency his desires went out longingly for some more congenial and satisfactory work. Although this was his conclusion, it is the opinion of qualified judges that he might have won full

* It is pleasant to remark that this is no longer so, and that Dickinson College comes to its centennial with favorably altered prospects, a harmonious administration, and an awakening interest in the college among friends of education; while the completion of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, connecting with the Cumberland Valley Road at Hagerstown, makes it the uniting link between the system of roads west and south of the Susquehanna, and the eastern and northern system which centers at Harrisburg; Carlisle being thus put on a trunk line and made accessible from all the territory on which Dickinson may properly hope to draw.

success. A trustee says, "Notwithstanding his chief gifts were for the pulpit and platform, he would have made a first-class success as president if he had consecrated his life to it." A member of his faculty writes: "Could he have changed some of his aims, put on more of the scholastic habit, and devoted himself solely to building up the college, he would have done a splendid work for education, for the Church, and for fame." It had been hoped that he might make the restoration of Dickinson his life-work. In Methodist history such hopes, often cherished, have been seldom realized. He followed the course which has been the rule in our educational institutions, and which is fostered by the customary action of our Church. He held the presidency of Dickinson less than four years, and, resigning early in 1872, was made Presiding Elder of Jersey City District.

The General Conference of 1872 was remarkable for two things: the first participation of lay delegates, and the number of men elected to offices new to them. Eight new bishops, three new missionary secretaries, two new book agents, and several new editors were chosen. Robert L. Dashiell, John M. Reed, and Thomas M. Eddy were elected Corresponding Secretaries of the Missionary Society. This office suited Dr. Dashiell's tastes and gifts, and fitted his previous training as capital fits column, although all its duties were not equally congenial to him. His qualities were at their best in its public work. He did the office-work faithfully, but it was sometimes irksome. He would let it accumulate, and then fly at it and clear it off with marvelous rapidity. He was too mettlesome to be a natural plodder. His associate, Dr. Reid, says: "He had almost irresistible power to enlist others in a cause, and could command the time, influence, and means of men as very few can." He managed with admirable tact the interests intrusted to him, had large influence in all missionary councils, and knew how to state a case so as to win the utmost in its behalf. An accomplished pleader, he brought to the office a wide reputation for money-raising ability. Shrewd business men admired his consummate skill, amounting to genius, in such matters. He gave especial attention to legacies. Going from the office-desk to the Conferences, he was a glowing messenger, thrilling the Church with latest news of toil,

trial, and triumph in missionary fields, and interceding mightily for heathendom. The Conferences of the land hold vivid recollections of his magnetic and magnificent appeals. Judge Fancher says: "His efficiency in the secretaryship was unsurpassed. Largely through his device and foresight such measures were adopted that all our missions were active, bold advances were made, and the missionary achievements under his supervision mark an era in the progress of Christianity." In 1878 he made, with Bishop Merrill, a tour of examination among our missions in Mexico. If this summary account seems a meager treatment of the best eight years of his life, it is from no dearth of facts in that laborious and fruitful period; but because an attempt to collect details would be like taking a census of the Church.

After this review of the history and work of his life, some presentation of personal characteristics may properly follow.

Dr. Dashiell was eminently formed and furnished for the pulpit and platform. Six feet high, erect and symmetrical, with blue eyes, straight brown hair, ruddy complexion, and frank, earnest face; with a handsome, impressive, winning presence, the impersonation of ease and manly grace; with a deep, rich, singularly pervasive voice, quivering in tender pathos or swelling in indignant outburst or passionate appeal, he charmed audiences, and held them with a magnetic spell. Often the copious tide of his incandescent eloquence flowed like a stream of oil on fire. He read an audience instinctively, and made the impassive responsive. He took liberties with customary proprieties, even before cultivated congregations, in a way that would have imperiled the influence of almost any other man. His blithe wit played with assemblies "as a fresh wind provokes the sea to laughter," yet left his dignity secure upon their respect, "as well placed as a castle set upon a mountain." In the midst of the play he turned on them suddenly an overwhelming tide of pathos and solemn power, and when he "preached the joys of heaven and pains of hell" he "bore his great commission in his look." It has been said of Dr. Pusey's sermons, "They are the voice of one crying in the cloister." Few sermons had less of the cloister than Dashiell's. The cloisters he paced were the homes where men dwell, and the places where they toil and strive, the highways of busy life.

His preaching cried up and down the noisy and beaten shore of man's work and woe and sin. Along that thronged surf-shaken beach, alive with commerce, strewn with wrecks, where ventures are putting forth and cargoes coming in, his voice sounded, and he kept watch like a life-patrol.

The Scotch preacher, Dr. James Hamilton, digested the results of his manifold reading into a set of volumes, entitled "Bibline; or, Book-Essence," much of which he used as sermon material, greatly to the weariness of the plainer part of his congregation. In Dashiell's sermons there was little "Bibline," much *Vitaline*, rather, if one may coin the correspondent word. Dr. Erastus Wentworth once criticised a sermon as spoiled by "too much Minerva." Even when Dashiell was college president there was no Minerva in his preaching.

"His luxury supreme

And his chief glory were the Gospel theme:
There he was copious as old Greece or Rome;
His happy eloquence seemed there at home."

Whipple, contrasting Webster and Choate, calls the former an "out-of-doors man," and the latter an "indoors man." One did his thinking largely in the open air, the other in his library. Webster was at home with "the plain, good sense of average mankind," and spoke with every-day ease; Choate fed his fires in secret and burst forth in a blaze of eloquence which had been wrought up intensely in solitude. In the sense of this comparison, Dashiell was an "out-of-doors man." To a parishioner who once queried when he prepared his sermons, he answered, "I get up sermons on the street." In his preaching there was no violence or strain, yet no lack of force. He told a young minister, who seemed to lack fire, that he needed a diet of blood and gunpowder. He was proverbially the friend of young men, having a winsome talent for enlisting them. In every pastorate he delivered frequent sermons especially to them, by which many were turned to righteousness. "Is the young man, Absalom, safe?" was one of his favorite texts. Young men whom he had befriended, rescued, and inspired, sat broken-hearted by his bedside in his last illness, holding his wasted hands and kissing them reverently with tears.

A loyal son of the Church, to which he devoted his all, he championed ardently the doctrines and usages of Methodism.

He preferred, "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy," to what he called the "ungodly music" which would take possession of some of our sanctuaries. His work was done so easily that he seemed to have power in reserve, and made the impression that he was banking on large resources and nowise pressed by the occasion. Having great facility of thought and expression he largely relied on this power, which was at once his advantage and his danger. The consciousness of these rare gifts did not stimulate to hard study, but led him to leave to the moment what men less facile, and less sure of themselves, must have put careful preparation upon. Although his mind was active and fertile, he put little on paper. Writing was seldom absolutely necessary to him, because he could carry what he needed in his mind ; and finding the drudgery of the pen irksome he wrote only when it was necessary.

Stirring activity suited him. The throne of his power was set in public ; his rule was that of presence ; his scepter, personal touch. By face-to-face word he won, and conquered by direct contact. There was that in him which was hard to resist. Able to do with men what few would dare, and fewer successfully attempt, he could ride in upon them with a dash in such courteous manner that there was no rudeness ; before they had time to lift drawbridge or let portcullis fall he was prancing in the castle's court without asking leave, at ease in his saddle, at home with his surroundings, and gracious. If he saw fit to come ashore no reserve could keep him off, even when suspicion stationed its sentinels and hostility mounted its guns. He knew how to run the blockade, elude the guards, and land his troops with stores and ammunition to occupy the town. A genial spirit, with courtly suavity of manner, made him agreeable. Keen penetration gave him the art of quick inference and thorough tact. He knew like a skilled anatomist where the heart was located, could touch it at will, and tell as by a stethoscopic sense how it was beating. The ideal and active well blended, an ardent poetic temperament, and practical executive sense, with experience of affairs, made him an adroit manager and an inspiring leader. He saw the bright side of things, kindled others with his courageous faith, shed a glow about him which melted indifference, inspired timidity with confidence, and disarmed opposition. With a masculine con-

tempt for shams and nonsense, hating cant and hypocrisy, he neither hid what he was, nor pretended to be what he was not. Heart, home, sorrows, ambitions, and all his affairs were open. Concealment was unnatural to him ; indeed, he erred in the opposite extreme. In his private business affairs he was unsuccessful, easily beguiled, and by believing every body suffered loss.

He was warm-blooded, humane, lavish in his friendships, magnanimous to rivals, and forgiving to enemies, saying often, "Life is too short to carry bitterness in our hearts. Keep the wheat, and let the chaff go ; cherish the good, and forget the evil." Strength, time, and substance were poured out for his brethren as if there were no limit to his resources. There was no stint in his willingness to help every body, and little caution in his promising. The impulse of ready consent, meeting every appeal for aid, did not stop to calculate coolly the limits of possibility ; and thus, through over-generosity, undertaking more than circumstances finally permitted, he sometimes failed to make all connections. A distinguished judge writes : "He had more warm friends than any man I ever knew, and was as true as steel, never failing to do his utmost for a friend when opportunity offered." When, on his sick-bed, the account of Chancellor Runyon's re-appointment and confirmation was read to him, he joyously cried " Halleluiah."

He found ready access to men of the world, and turned many of them to Christ. The matters which he touched influentially are known to be various. Without turning aside to politics, he wielded, silently, considerable political control through personal influence with those who ruled civil affairs. Men in power consulted his sagacious judgment, and some owed official position to his influence. A secular paper, politically opposed to him, said : "Dr. Dashiell was not a person of ordinary mold ; he did not walk after a set fashion or talk by line and plummet. He would have made his mark in any station of life ; and where he did make it, it is indelible. He was a perfect example of restless, impulsive American energy ; of that tireless power which transforms wildernesses, builds cities, and keeps the human heart on fire. He was more than a preacher, every-where sought for and admired ; he had more statesman-like qualities than nine-tenths of the men who make statesmanship a profession. He took a living interest in all that

belonged to his country, its material, political, and moral progress. A thorough, comprehensive, large-souled, educated, common-sense man of the times was Dr. Dashiell."

In October, 1861, Gilbert Haven left his army chaplaincy and took charge of Clinton-street Church, Newark. Soon after, in a letter to a friend, he wrote: "A fine Gothic church is close beside mine, with a popular preacher who draws on this greatly. I shall be thankful if I keep my folks at home."

This popular preacher was Dashiell, who hospitably took the wifeless, homeless Haven to his heart and home, a weekly guest at his table. The inflexible abolitionist and the Maryland democrat, disputing and fraternizing with belligerent good-will, were ever after close friends, the heat and blows of debate only welding intimacy. Ardent and genial, as much alike in nature as different in opinions, they disagreed sharply without animosity. Familiar as boys, Dashiell would take him by the arm and say, "Come, old Gilt-edge, you must go home with me." The Yankee chaplain at Dashiell's table had to contend also with his Southern hostess, with whom he would insist on discussing such matters as John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry. Twenty years after, on the day of Haven's funeral, Dashiell, on his bed of suffering, said: "Haven and my wife used to quarrel dreadfully, and they quarreled until they became warm friends." The last vote of this out-spoken democrat was straight Republican. The democracy of Newark had bought the German vote by pledging itself for an open Sunday of saloons and carousing. As he went to the polls his democratic friends held out their party ballot. He said, "No, I thank you! You have sold me out, but you cannot deliver me."

Dr. Dashiell was a right royal lover of his wife and children. Home was the dear center of the world. To it his thoughts turned, of it he always talked, no matter how far away duty led him. The story of his family life, most cheery, considerate, unselfish, and affectionate, is not for these pages. One of the inmates of his home was "Mammy," his negro nurse, who, as she was proud of saying, "taught him to walk." In his infancy Hetty had been hired of her mistress by his mother. Long after, when he was in the ministry, he paid, at her entreaty and with the sanction of Bishop Ames, five hundred dollars to save her from being sold away. From

that time she lived in his family and bore herself as if she owned it. Toward her he showed gentle consideration, never going away without calling "Good-bye, Hetty," and waiting to shake hands. Her boast to his children was, "Your father never give me a unrespectful word in his life." In dealing with this crotchety character much patience and tact were required. When the children gave her offense she would loftily repel all overtures until her idolized "Friend" came in to restore peace. Haven once, in his Episcopal days, in taking leave of the family, extended his hand first to old Mammy, who drew back with great dignity and said, in a tone of reproof, "Mrs. Dashiell first, Bishop." Dashiell's laugh at the repulsed dignitary rang through the house. Hetty was heart-broken over the sufferings which ended her friend's life, and would not witness his dying. As soon as he was gone she came into the room, extended her hands above his body, and said, with a choking voice, "Farewell, Doctor! You've been a good friend to me. I'll meet you before the throne." Being told of a sermon in which the minister had said, "God never calls one of his children from earth unless he has work for him elsewhere," she broke out, indignantly, "Humph! If dat's de way, Miss Mary, I don't think much of it. If de Doctor, after all de runnin' and wearin' out his poor body he done here, aint got no rest now, I don't think much of it." She had her own notion of what use "de Lord" might properly make of "de Doctor;" it was her opinion that he would be "de strong-lunged angel to stand wid one foot on de land and de other on de sea to blow de trumpet." She survived him less than a year. Her name is cut upon his monument. Her body lies at his feet on the bank of the Passaic.

Dr. Dashiell's last public utterance in the East was in Newark at the funeral of his friend, Cornelius Walsh. That night, pale and worn with two weeks of illness, he started for the Northwest. His route was almost the same as the last trip of his colleague, Dr. Eddy. In fourteen days he traveled three thousand miles, delivered fourteen sermons and addresses, and was shaken up in a railroad collision. His last sermon was at Lincoln, Nebraska. He reached home sick, October 9, and went through his duties with the General Missionary Committee, in its annual meeting, with pallid, pain-stricken face and

tremulous hands, yet alert and vigilant as ever. He was seen at the front of action until the ambulance carried him off the field. Near the close of that annual meeting some statement sprung him, and he flashed into a burning, brilliant speech of ten minutes, the last blaze of dying fires in a man who had no chance for life. The meeting over, he, as well as Bishop Haven—two brave, brotherly men—went home to die of rankling disease. The week after the adjournment of the committee, Dashiell went on Monday to the Presbyterian Hospital for a surgical examination. It was made in the afternoon, revealed intestinal cancer, and indicated that disease had gone too far for removal by an operation ; but, in the absence of Dr. Van Buren, it was necessary to remain till next day for his opinion. The night of suspense was horrible. With doom half-pronounced he must wait till the morrow for sentence to be made decisive and complete. Left to themselves in strange and ghastly surroundings, that hospital, as night settled down, was to him and his wife a very Golgotha. About eight in the evening the door opened, and, to their grateful surprise, there stood Bishop Haven, his broad form filling the door-way as he tossed in his friendly greeting, "Well, old fellow, they have you where they want to get me," meaning in the surgeons' hands. "I had an hour before leaving for Boston and wanted to spend it with you." When his time had elapsed, Haven said "Good-bye," and was apparently going, when suddenly he dropped on his knees and prayed for ten minutes, pouring out his soul for his friend. Dashiell was greatly affected. The bright Bishop hastened away, in pain and weakness, to lay himself on his own death-bed and find the gates of heaven two months before his friend. The only reading Dashiell did during his illness was George Lansing Taylor's elegy on Haven. "The warrior is at rest. I wonder how long I must wait," said the slowly dying Missionary Secretary when he learned that his heroic brother had gone before him. Very soon the comrades greeted beyond the battle-fields, hanging their dinted shields upon the temple walls where the holy light of victory falls for evermore.

Dr. Dashiell astonished his friends by his fortitude in suffering. He endured the trying operation of colotomy, which, however, availed little. When he laid himself on the table, the surgeon said, as he administered the anæsthetic, "Now,

Doctor, you must lose sight of us for a little while." "I know it," he replied, "but my heavenly Father will not for a moment lose sight of me."

Although arrested suddenly in the fullness of power, usefulness, and hope, he felt no shock of alarm or dismay, but accepted with resignation the will of God. Yet he relinquished only with obstinate reluctance the hope that he might recover sufficiently to do a little more work. He said, "If I might get up from this sick-bed, I could preach better than I ever did. I may never again go down the long furrow with the reapers, but I would like to throw in my sickle with the gleaners." His sheaves were all in. Nothing remained for him on earth but suffering, mitigated by the ministry of loving hands, the practical sympathy of a cordon of friends doing all in their power to relieve him from earthly anxieties, and the great grace of God. Tormented with pain, he spoke of the Divine goodness with grateful tears, and rebuked every murmur uttered in his presence. Often when distress was severest he quoted,

"Courage, my soul, thy bitter cross,
In every trial here,
Shall bear thee to thy heaven above,
But shall not enter there."

His first words almost every morning during his illness were, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!" Looking toward eternity, he said, "The hill-tops beyond are gilded with glory. The shadows are all here." He hated death with the strong instinct of a vital man, but loved the Lord of life. The Church watched his dying for four weary months, and when, in his fifty-fifth year, in the dusk of evening on the 8th of March, 1880, quietly as a tired child falls asleep, he crossed the shaded frontier into the better life, Methodism from ocean to ocean, and from the St. Lawrence to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, was smitten with a sense of loss. At his funeral, held in St. Paul's Church, Newark, in a driving snow-storm, and attended by a great multitude, addresses were delivered by Bishop Simpson and Secretary Reid, the sole survivor in the missionary office. Of him Dr. Reid has said: "All parts of his nature conspired to make him a brilliant character. The ends of the earth weep for him, for the monuments of his toil are in all lands."

ART. II.—REMARKABLE PROBLEMS OF OUR POPULATION.

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Paris. 1881, 1882.

THE subject we are about to discuss touches our national egotism; and have we not, long ago, had enough of that? Unquestionably the proverbial boastfulness of Americans has had some considerable justification; they had great "fathers," and have been accustomed to see natural grandeurs all around them—great lakes and rivers; great mountains, rich in mines; and great prairies, cornfields for the bread of the world. The great destiny of the country became a sort of intuition in their national consciousness. They are not, also, to be contemned, if not admired, for the pluckiness of their self-assertion at a time when Europe treated them only with supercilious sarcasm, and her Trollopes, Fidlers, and Dickenses caricatured them before the Old World. All this, however, has now changed; Europe is now dependent largely on their bread and cheese, their beef and pork; their inventions and manufactures are seen by the American traveler in the shops of all her great cities; he travels her lakes and rivers in the steam-boat, finds the telephone in her principal towns, and telegraph-wires along her highways, and hears the murmur of the "sewing-machine" through the cottage windows of the obscure villages of the Hartz and Alps. American men of science are now recognized as authorities by the best scientific authorities of Europe. The works of American poets and novelists are welcomed by her best families; and American historians are standards on the shelves of her libraries; some of them—like Irving, Ticknor, Prescott, and Motley—are esteemed as her best authorities on questions of her own history. If Europe still holds Canada and Australia somewhat aloof, as secondary or provincial sections of the civilized world, she no longer thus disparages the United States. She now admits us as equals to the full comity of her greatest states. She has gone further, and has begun to treat us with rather flattering complacency. We may, then, well enough abate our old boastfulness, and trust our reputation to her good sense. But on a subject like that we are about to present it is impossible to write without

apparent egotism. Fortunately for us, however, we are to be backed by European authority, and are to reproduce chiefly European opinions. After this apologetic introduction (which we acknowledge to be somewhat equivocal) we crave permission to go through our discussion without wasting our limited space—entirely too brief for the subject—in modest qualifications.

The "Bulletin" of the Geographical Society of Paris has lately given some interesting papers on the population of the United States, from the pen of M. L. Simonin, who is, apparently, a French *savant* sojourning among us, and who has made the statistics of our last census a special study. M. Simonin commends strongly the work of our "Bureau of Statistics" at Washington, approving particularly the long time (so impatiently resented by ourselves) which it spends in elaborating its important problems—problems the most surprising, as he thinks, and the most suggestive of economic and social lessons, ever presented in the official documents of nations. Our last census he pronounces "the most remarkable in its geographical, economic, and moral phenomena that has ever been made." His discussions of its principal results have excited much curiosity and no little wonder among French statisticians; and some quite novel questions and problems have been addressed to him, in reply, by his *confrères* of the Paris *Société de Géographie*. It seems that Europe is beginning to perceive that the New World is about to exercise a really revolutionary influence on the commercial, political, and social destinies of the Old, if not, indeed, of the entire world.

The facts which indicate this coming revolution are incontestable, but, at first view, they seem incredible to European thinkers. They are marvels in the social evolution of our times, and French thinkers, especially, are indisposed to accredit marvels. M. Simonin, however, confronts them with the indisputable numerical proofs; they speak for themselves, and admit, as he thinks, of no evasion.

Some of his deductions may well startle Americans themselves, sanguine and boastful though we usually be. We propose to review a few of them, including some which his formula implies, but which he has not discussed.

Among the most remarkable considerations which his papers suggest are the "Center of Population," the rate of its move-

ment westward, the time of the completion of this movement, the amount of our population at that period, and its comparative strength considered in respect to the population of Europe and to that of the whole earth.

The elements of such calculations must, of course, be various and difficult; there is much room for conjecture, and no little temptation to it, but there is a better than Daedalian escape from the Cretan labyrinth of the facts concerned; the clew through them is mathematical, and M. Simonin holds, with a steady hand, to that clew. For example, the ratio of the growth of our population has been so regular as almost to confirm Mr. Buckle's theory that even statistics are subject to exact law. We have been able to predict, with no little confidence, the aggregate result of the census of each decade for nearly a hundred years, for nearly the whole of our national history, notwithstanding all the contingencies which affect that result—political changes, wars with England, with Mexico, with ourselves; commercial revulsions, or “crises,” nearly every fifteen or twenty years; variations in immigration, itself so affected by European political, military, and commercial contingencies. Nearly half a century ago Professor Tucker, of Harvard University, published calculations by which he estimated, in round numbers, our population for each decade down to the present time; his estimates for even the latest periods were singularly correct; he gave, for 1870, thirty-eight millions; it was thirty-eight and a half, notwithstanding the Mexican and Civil wars, the unexpected movements of European emigration, and, especially, the discovery of gold in California, which so much confounded those movements. For 1880 he gave fifty millions—the aggregate at which we usually state the last census. All his errors were short of the actual amounts officially reported; his formula was so correct that apparent errors in one decade were compensated in another, as the “perturbations” of the planets compensate one another and maintain the mathematical harmony of astronomical law.

We are all familiar with the phrase “Center of Population,” but have a vague idea of its significance. M. Simonin admires the formula by which our statisticians have used the “*Grandes Statistiques*” of the Republic, during ninety years, for the ascertainment of this “great movement” of our population,

and the solution of the remarkable problems which it involves. He says :

They suppose that the land of the United States is reduced to a plane surface, and that it has no weight, but that the men who are borne along on this surface have weight. They calculate the mean weight of these men at 70 kilogrammes. Now at New York, for example, there are to-day, in round numbers, say one million of inhabitants; it has thus a weight of 70 millions of kilogrammes. Philadelphia has, say 800,000 inhabitants, and therefore 56 millions of kilogrammes, and so on. Now all who have calculated centers of gravity in mechanics, all who have studied elementary statics, know perfectly that, with the definition here given, it is very easy to calculate what is called the center of gravity of population, or more simply the center of population, or more simply the center of population, at any given time. As the population began in the East, and was first dispersed along the Atlantic coast, it is evident that its center of gravity must be nearer the Atlantic than the Pacific; for where the inhabitants are fewest the arm of the lever must obviously be longest, and thus we arrive at the determination of a mathematical point which bears all the country in equilibrium, as on a pivot. It is this point that we name the center of population.

He traces it through ninety years. In 1790 it was 23 miles east of Baltimore; that is to say, on the Atlantic coast. In 1800 it was 18 miles west of Baltimore; it had advanced no less than 41 miles in a decade. In 1810 it was 40 miles north-west of Washington; it was still in Maryland, but on its frontier. In 1820 it was 16 miles to the north of Woodstock, and left Maryland for Virginia. In 1830 it was 19 miles south-west of Moorfield, in western Virginia; in 1840 it was still in Virginia, 16 miles south of Clarksburg; in 1850 it was 23 miles south-east of Rochersburg. It then left Virginia and entered Ohio; in 1860 it was 20 miles south of Chillicothe; in 1870 it was 48 miles north-east of Cincinnati, and at last we find it, in 1880, about 8 miles south-west of Cincinnati, still in Ohio, but near Kentucky, which it will enter by the next census. M. Simonin gives a map showing this line—the line of the march of civilization, in the wilderness of the New World, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. With very little deviation it keeps along the thirty-ninth parallel; it goes straight westward; the phrase, “‘Westward the star of empire takes its way,’ is not merely poetic,” he remarks, “it is mathematical.”

M. Simonin calculates, from these data, that the average advance westward of the center of population has been, since 1790, 50 miles per decade, or 5 miles a year. This is wonderful enough for the statistician, and still more suggestive to the philosopher and the poet, but there is another fact which M. Simonin does not mention, and which shows more impressively this "grand movement" of humanity in the New World. We must bear in mind that his calculations thus far refer only to the center, not to the vanguard and flanks of the movement. When Sir C. Lyell was traveling in this country, exploring its geology, more than forty years ago, he was surprised at the rapid outspread of the people as quite phenomenal in the history of the world. "In fifty years," he wrote, "the State of Ohio alone had about equaled in population all the population of European blood in all the vast regions conquered by Cortes and Pizarro, to say nothing of her superiority in wealth and civilization." But he witnessed a similar phenomenon every-where that he went; and, alluding to another distinguished foreigner who had passed over the country some years before his own visit, he says, "De Tocqueville calculated that along the border of the United States, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, extending a distance of 1,200 miles, as the bird flies, the whites advance every year at a mean rate of 17 miles, and he truly observes that there is a grandeur and solemnity in this gradual and continuous march of the European race toward the Rocky Mountains. He compares it to "a deluge of men rising unabatedly and daily driven onward by the hand of God." This was indeed a "grand march" of humanity, armed with the ax and the spade, advancing to the trumpet of destiny, felling the forests, planting the prairies, scaling the mountains, building school-houses, churches, and halls of justice, railroads, and canals—bearing with it the institutions and energies of Christian civilization and the completest liberties of man. But a phenomenon was to appear which these travelers could not have anticipated; they saw the center of population moving 50 miles a decade, the vanguard and flanks 17 miles a year: but events—especially the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast—were soon to interrupt the comparative regularity of the march, and vanguard and flanks, disregarding ordinary restrictions and centers of gravity, were

to break up, charging like cavalry on all prominent points, for the immediate subjugation of the great field, and pausing only before the waves of the Pacific.

But let us return to M. Simonin's figures. Having ascertained the rate of the movement of the center of population, he insists that his further calculations can be relied on, that the proofs are mathematical. The growth of nearly every great human interest in the United States, where political freedom allows the free action of natural causes, is normal and susceptible of exact statement. Accordingly, he proceeds to show how normal has been the progress of population for the successive decades of ninety years, and deduces therefrom the ratio of increase as the means of the solution of some still more striking problems respecting the future.

Making abundant allowance for contingencies, for variations in immigration, for losses by war, as in our civil struggle, he arrives at the conclusion as logically reliable that the population doubles in periods of from twenty-five to twenty-eight years. Twenty-five years have been usually assumed to be the necessary period. M. Simonin makes his calculations, therefore, on very safe grounds; and, taking what he calls the "magnificent labors of the Bureau of Statistics" as his data, he proceeds to determine a curious problem, namely, When shall the center of population complete its movement and "all the surface of the immense country be filled with inhabitants?" This we call a "curious problem;" to most of us Americans it is simply such, but to a European *savant* it is a profoundly interesting scientific *datum*. M. Simonin speaks of it as a "*grande année économique*" in the history of the world, and says that in "amusing" himself with his calculation of it, he "was startled at the fewness of the centuries necessary for the great consummation, and the formidable millions of men which will then throng the United States."

Reaffirming that the ratios of growth can be relied on, that "they have never failed one minute," he determines the period for what he calls the "complete population of the country" to be about three hundred years—at most three hundred and twenty—a period which, to us fast Americans, seems indefinitely distant, but which appears to a European as quite at hand. M. Simonin becomes emphatic on the subject. "Yes,

Messieurs,” he exclaims to his French *confrères*, “hardly three hundred and twenty years are necessary for this result; only about that term separates us from the accession of Henry IV.! What, then, are three hundred years? We traverse this period through the lives of a few of our forefathers. In this period the United States will have completed their grand march westward, and, in the same time, will have filled with population all the prairies, all the West, all the coast of the Pacific.”

Having determined, as he believes, this problem, M. Simonin faces another, namely, What will be the population of the Republic at this great consummation? The result is startling to him, and, indeed, must seem incredible to most of us; but before we approach it a hardly less striking, yet more credible, one presents itself; one which must affect profoundly the future of both the Old World and the New, and which we may properly enough here interpolate, though it requires us to deviate somewhat from M. Simonin’s formula: When will the population of the Republic equal the present aggregate population of Europe?

The actual ratio of our increase will validly apply for at least one age of human life to come; M. Simonin thinks it will “for one or two ages;” immigration and the general prosperity of the country will, we can hardly doubt, go on at the present rate during the life-time of our youngest children; it is not improbable that they will go on, for that time, with increasing ratios. We have now a territory about equal to that of Europe. The Hon. Schuyler Colfax, when Speaker of the House of Representatives, citing official records at Washington, claimed for us some thousands of square miles more than the territory of Europe; but, be the difference more or less, it can hardly affect the present question. If we take, not M. Simonin’s shortest term for the doubling of the population, which is the usually admitted term of twenty-five years, nor his longest term of twenty-eight years, but the intermediate term of twenty-seven years, our population will equal the actual population of all Europe in about seventy years. According to the Tables of Mortality there are some thousands of children now in their cradles at our firesides who will see that time.

The fact of such a result is, in itself, startling; the fact of its *proximity* renders it doubly startling. It will be, as it

were, to-morrow in the history of nations; and its inevitable consequences cannot fail to suggest grave anticipations to the statesmen and thinkers of both hemispheres.

What, it has been asked, would be the national consciousness of any one European people who should have a similar prospect? What of the Germans, for example, if they could calculate, with equal confidence, that within seventy years their flag will wave from the North Cape to Malta, from Lisbon to Moscow, over a population homogeneous in all vital respects—in their social institutions, their polities, their economic interests, and, mostly, in their blood—all speaking the same language, having perfect religious and civil liberty, with the best means of financial prosperity, of popular education, and of household comfort known on the earth?

An equivalent prospect is not only probable, but apparently certain, for the United States. It depends, of course, on the continued unity of the nation, but we will not doubt *that*, for the short period here given. Every patriotic motive increasingly guarantees that unity, and this grand prospect itself must tend to reinforce every such motive. Personal pride is usually a vice, but, in certain cases, it may be a virtue; national pride is always a virtue; it is an essential element of patriotism. Every American citizen must feel that this increasing glory of his country is reflected on himself and on his children. Whatever motive of discord (alleged to be justifiable or unjustifiable) may have heretofore endangered our unity, any citizen who would now abet intrigues which could defeat this great future, who could fire on the flag of his country, of such a country, is unworthy to have been born under its sky, unworthy of a grave in its soil. He is the enemy, not only of his country, but of the human race. Patriotism is, to be sure, a sentiment, but it need not be sentimentalism; for what are sentiments but heightened ideas, convictions of the heart as well as of the head, opinions incandescent? Every reasonable conviction, every intelligent opinion, respecting the interests of the country, or the self-interest of its citizens—and with us they are logically identical—demands the inviolability of the Union. The public conscience should never again allow it to be a subject of doubt. The one only serious peril to it has been extinguished. All the present and possible

interests of the nation are harmonious, not to say identical. The South, the Interior, the West, are rapidly becoming assimilated to the North and East, by manufactures and commerce. Georgia is becoming a southern Massachusetts. Distances and local isolations are mostly annihilated by the modern improvements in communication. Nearly all the remote States and Territories are, to-day, practically nearer the political center than the remote colonies were at the time of the organization of the Republic. One of our best scientific authorities has shown that the geography, the very topography, of the country forbids disunion.* Were the States of the Mississippi Valley to organize by themselves, they would impair their relations to their chief domestic markets; they would be wedged in between two great powers on the east and west, and would have as their own but one outlet to the seas, the mouth of the Mississippi. Were the South to secede, it would not only impair its relations to its best domestic markets, but it would provoke endless struggles with the West about the outlet of the Mississippi—a consideration which powerfully influenced the West in the Civil War. Were the Atlantic or the Pacific States to essay a separation from the Union, choosing, respectively, the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains as their natural boundaries, they would thereby not only impair their chief interior commercial resources in the valley of the Mississippi, but they would render themselves liable to the continual hostile reaction of the latter, hedged in, if not crushed in, between them. What an expense, too, in military provisions against one another would be implied by such divisions! The greatest feature on the face of the continent is the valley of the Mississippi. By its peculiar situation it has become a principal guarantee of the Union.

What in former times were considered to be the "natural boundaries" of nations—great rivers and mountain ranges—are no longer such, especially with us. The new means of communication to which we have alluded have obliterated these old barriers, and are miracles of our times, changing the face of the world. The philosopher must consider it a remarkable coincidence, the Christian thinker a remarkable providence, that these scientific miracles have been contemporaneous with the

* Professor Draper's "History of the Civil War."

history of the Republic. Watt's invention, applied to navigation by one of our own citizens, has not only rendered navigable, against their currents, the more than forty thousand miles of our navigable rivers, thereby opening the continent to emigration and commerce, and especially developing the valley of the Mississippi, but has woven a network of intercommunication and union over the surface of the Republic. Stephenson's later invention has done more; it has annulled the old "natural boundaries," so called, of States, has eliminated distances, has bound the Union in bands of iron; and Morse's invention, disregarding boundaries, distance, and time, causes speech to answer to speech from all the outposts of our wide-stretching, bountiful land.

We may assume, then, with no little confidence, that the Union will last, and that its growth of population will go on, at about its present rate, for the comparatively short period of the lifetime of our youngest children—for the little more than seventy years, which will bring it abreast of the present population of all Europe. Europe, of course, will meanwhile advance; but with its already overburdened population, its labor depressed by ours, and the continual drafts of emigration from it, to our advantage, its comparative growth will but slightly affect the relative power of the two great sections.

We may certainly pronounce this a revolution in the history of the civilized world. Its probable consequences present profoundly interesting problems for the consideration of thinkers, especially of statesmen, and most especially of European statesmen. What must be the reaction of the New World on the Old at that time? What the effect of this immense development of America on European industry, especially on European agriculture? What on European manufactures, on trade, on the balance of exchange? What on politics? What on war between the two sections? What will be the diplomatic influence of the New World, its moral, not to say its political, or military authority before Europe? In about eighty years the population of the Republic will, according to our formula, be more than seventy millions greater than the actual population of Europe; what can any European state, or any number of European states combined, then do in a belligerent dispute with the Republic? What even all Europe

combined—if we consider the distance between them and their comparative resources?

The reaction of the New World upon the Old has been more or less continuous ever since the beginning of our national history; the more effective for being tacit rather than violent—in accordance with Washington's wise counsel never to have entangling relations with European states—the wisest maxim of foreign policy ever given to us, and which should never be abandoned. The first French Revolution is now considered, by historians, as the epoch of modern political history; for, in spite of its terrible enormities, it initiated an irrepressible revolution in European life; it dispelled most of the remains of feudalism, and nearly completed the unfinished work of Richelieu, this time in favor, not of monarchy, but of the people; it confuted forever the dogma of the "divine right" of kings, and broke down the traditional ecclesiasticism of Europe, which, notwithstanding its occasional sporadic revivals, has become practically obsolete. Naturally enough, then, European writers pronounce it the epoch of modern history; but their opinion may need to be somewhat revised. Historically considered, the American Revolution may more properly be pronounced that epoch. A very brief period intervened between the two revolutions, and the one initiated the other. Between the American peace, with the return of the French troops, (1783,) and the French Revolution (1789) there were but about six years. The Frenchmen who shared in our Revolution—and without whose aid, let us gratefully acknowledge, it would have seemed to have been next to impracticable—returned to the Old World mostly republicans. The character of the struggling colonists, and especially the character of Washington, gave moral dignity and force to their opinions, in the minds of these chivalric foreigners, and they went home with new hopes for their own country. The proximate occasion of the French Revolution was, unquestionably, a financial one; but this was more a condition than a cause of the great change. Political ideas gave the revolution its political and social character. These ideas had, indeed, been long fermenting in France, as they had been in America. They were current among the "philosophers," and even in the persiflage of the courtiers; but they were crude and lacked the

practical common sense and high ethical character of the American polities. Rousseau had given them their most distinct expression, but with speculative extravagances at which the American patriots could only smile. His "*Contrat Social*" was the manual, the Bible of the French Revolutionists, and, to no little extent, the source of their frightful errors and the failure of their cause—its temporary failure, for it has been irrepressible, and, after repeated revivals, stands to-day reinstated throughout France. Voltaire, who is usually esteemed his chief coadjutor in bringing on the revolution, was a monarchist, without political sympathy with the people, and contributed only to the influence of the revolution against ecclesiasticism. Lafayette became the embodiment of American politics before France, and the best hero of the revolution, its faithful representative after its collapse, till it again arose in 1830. A royalist historian—Bertrand de Moleville—who witnessed the revolution, admits all we here claim. He says: "The American war developed in France new germs of revolt. It afforded at once the example and the tactics; confused ideas of liberty, of independence, of democracy, fermented in all heads, and prepared a general explosion." Madame de Staël, who passed through the whole revolution, wrote, at its outbreak, to Gustavus III., of Sweden, attributing it to "the North American Revolution." Gustavus himself wrote to his ambassador at St. Petersburg "that it is an epidemic of popular effervescence—an epidemic which has had its real source in America, and is extending over France." Dumont, the friend and biographer of Mirabeau, and who wrote for him some of his most effective speeches, says that the "National Assembly began with the famous 'Declaration of the Rights of Man'; it was an American idea, and was regarded as a necessary preliminary." Dumont himself helped to write it. Lafayette introduced it in the Assembly. The first placards, on the walls of Paris, proposing a Republic, were written by Thomas Paine, returned from America, and signed by Duchâtele, a nobleman who had fought in the American army. The Parisian "philosophers," with Condorcet at their head, immediately avowed their republicanism, and Dumont says that "America appeared to them the model of good government, and it seemed easy to transplant into France the system of Federalism."

The Duke of Montmorency, a representative of one of the oldest noble families of France, was one of our French soldiers, and it was he that moved in the French Assembly the abolition of aristocratic titles. Jefferson and Gouverneur Morris were both in Paris at the coming on of the Revolution, and were active in its preliminaries; the latter somewhat conservative in his counsels, the former in full sympathy with its leaders; both were oracles of the movement, consulted by all parties, and writing documents for all, including the perplexed king himself; and when the news of the death of Franklin arrived, the revolutionists paused to commemorate with public solemnities the man who, in the words of Mirabeau, had "wrested the scepter from kings and the lightning from heaven." During the first and best struggles of the French leaders the American Republic was ever present to their thoughts, the one realization of their political ideal.

If the French Revolution was then the epoch of modern European political history, the American Revolution, as its initiative, may be pronounced the epoch of general modern political history; and the reaction of the New World upon the Old must be considered an essential fact in European history. The influence of the antecedent republics and the "free cities" can scarcely be said to affect the question; we can hardly except that of Switzerland which, in its politics, as in its geography, has been too limited and too insulated, in the system of Europe, to have much effect, though it is daily becoming more effective by the new tendencies of European politics. The old republics and free cities were without any very distinct political dogmas or theoretical basis. The ethical idea of popular sovereignty, which is constantly becoming more and more fundamental in all civilized governments, is a doctrine of modern times, and is, in what we may call its scientific form, an American idea.

Latterly this American influence has been greatly augmented. Our Civil War may be said to have brought us fully out before Europe. European writers themselves tell us it was the most important civil war in the history of the world. It extemporized from its common citizens numerically the strongest military forces ever arrayed in such a conflict. Its great results, in the abolition of slavery and the organic consolidation of the

Republic—the peaceful disbanding of its forces, at the end of the war, and their re-absorption in industrial occupations ; and—not the least consideration in Europe—the honest management and rapid reduction of the formidable national debt incurred by the war, are demonstrations of the efficiency of popular government which it would seem should end all controversy on that subject. They are powerful arguments for the Liberals of Europe. The Swiss Republic is adjacent to that of France, and there now projects, from the very heart of the continent to the Atlantic, what has been called a “Wedge of Republicanism.” The common people of Europe are to-day pervaded by democratic ideas, and these ideas have taken on, more or less, an organized party form in most of her nationalities—in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and even in Russia. Though, through the impatience of the people under many grievances, especially military grievances, these forms are marred by extravagant theories, we need not despair, for we know that the possession of power by the people at last, will, through self-interest, if by no higher motive, be corrective of anarchy ; for nothing more effectively tends to conservatism than the responsibility of power.

As to the reaction of the New World on the industrial interests of the Old, little need here be said ; for it is now obvious enough, and has become a grave phenomenon to European economists. Judging from their own calculations, the staple agricultural interests of Europe would seem to be doomed by American competition. The agriculture of England is confessedly doomed. France has had a commission in the United States to report on the question as it affects her own peasantry. This commission has studied it in our Western States, particularly in Texas ; and, after estimating the necessary capital invested in land and stock, the production per acre, the cost of labor, etc., its verdict is that French agriculture cannot long stand before the competition ; even her wine industry is ultimately threatened. The American competition, with individual European states, acts not only directly on them, but affects their own interaction. We may thus account in part, at least, for the decline of the exports compared with the imports of French trade. In the years 1873-75 the former exceeded the latter about \$150,000,000 ; but in the year 1876

“the tide turned, and the imports began to be in excess, the excess reaching \$82,500,000. Last year the imports exceeded the exports by \$275,000,000.” Inevitably the staple cereals of Europe must give way before the great harvests of America. What, then, is to become of the peasantry of Europe who are the mass of its population? What we have called “unscientific” legislation may retard this revolution somewhat, but cannot arrest it, and can only exasperate its consequences. Emigration would seem to be the only relief, as Lord Derby has told the English laborers; but emigration itself will tend to augment the American competition, and thereby augment its consequences to Europe. There appears to be no alternative but in new, or, at least, in enlarged, manufacturing industries; but here again the New World is coming into competition with the Old. American manufactures are entering the markets of most of Europe, and competing with the manufacturers of the latter along the outlines of the whole world. From the superior resources of America in raw materials, the commercial energy of her people, and their inventive genius in supplying the lack of manual work by mechanical means, this portentous revolution would seem as sure as fate.

Should the American Union be maintained, as we certainly believe it will be, through the period we have been considering, its international relations with Europe, especially, in regard to war, will undergo extraordinary changes—changes the prospect of which must afford matter for speculation among military men. With the distance of the Republic, its vast resources, and its universal and patriotic citizenship, it would seem that it must be too formidable for military interference from any European state, or, as we have said, from any number of them combined. The two oceans are the best fortifications of the nation against both the European and the Asiatic worlds. If foreign forces could do harm to its chief ports they could not penetrate the country without plunging into a fatal abyss. The Washingtonian foreign policy will preserve us, we may hope, from serious international disturbances; but the moral force of American opinion, especially in the form of diplomacy, can hardly fail to be momentous, not to say irresistible. In the social developments of our age a new political authority has arisen, a higher law, a constitution of constitutions; it is

public opinion, public conscience. Certain evils once prevalent in individual states have disappeared, and others are disappearing under international moral influence. An *Auto-da-fé* could not again be ordained in Madrid, for the public opinion of Europe would not tolerate it, and her diplomatists would be ordered by all her other courts to forbid it. No serious religious persecution would now be allowed to go on, could it even begin, under this new constitution; persecutions of Christians within the Turkish empire have been arrested by it; the late persecutions of the Jews, though denied to have been religious, have had to give way before it. Extreme political vices are becoming inadmissible under it; Mr. Gladstone's famous letter on the political prisoners of Naples was an effectual blow against the Bourbon dynasty there, and for the unification of Italy. The New World ought to be, at the time we are supposing, capable of an almost absolute exercise of this power, and she will be, if she chooses to be, morally worthy of it.

The subject is a tempting one for prophesying, and even for "preachments," but we are forgetting the Paris "Bulletin." We return to its statistics only to meet a still more striking result, one which, as we have seen, surprises the French writer, though his mathematics force him up to it, and which we ourselves face with some sober misgivings. Having determined the period in which the movement of the center of population will be completed, he proceeds to determine the problem, What will then be the amount of the population? The former he ascertains, as we have seen, to be about 320 years; of the latter he says: "I hesitate to give you the true ciphers." They appear incredible; but, in order to give confidence to his European readers, he drops the ascertained ratio of increase, and instead of from 25 to 28 years, takes 30 years and then 40 years, and, at a still later date, 50 years; and advances, he says, "without fear of exaggeration," to the year 2000; "but," he adds, "in 2050 I discover 800,000,000 of men here! This is more than *double* all the population of Europe, including Russia. This result begins to disquiet me a little. It is the figure which was given at the beginning of this century for the population of the *whole earth*. To-day the population of the whole world is given at 1,500,000,000,* but in only about 320 years, when

* The latest German estimate (by Behm and Wagner) is 1,433,800,000.

the population of the United States has attained its full measure, it will be 1,600,000,000 ;" that is to say, a hundred millions more than the whole present population of our planet !

Well may M. Simonin express his astonishment, and his Paris correspondents address to him eager questions about the strange significance of this result, inevitable in the future ; in even the proximate history of the world. It is not further from us in the future than the conquest of Mexico, by Cortez, is in the past. The time it requires is hardly forty years longer than that which has elapsed since the first European settlements were made within our present limits by Juan de Ornate and his Spaniards in Arizona ; only about forty years more than the time which has elapsed since Captain John Smith reached Jamestown ; about fifty-seven more than the arrival of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth ; and a half century less than has passed since Ponce de Leon landed in Florida. "Such," remarks M. Simonin, "is the geographical phenomenon, so worthy of consideration, that we establish ; a phenomenon that the United States alone presents." For this period which he considers so short, and this result which he considers so grand, he has reasoned with much sobriety and caution ; he has diminished nearly one half the accepted ratio of increase—that is to say, nearly doubled the time necessary for the doubling of the population. Of course, the disposition of European doubters would be to contest his statistics ; for, these admitted, his deductions seem incontestable. He re-affirms, however, their authenticity, and very emphatically : "Never," he says, "has any country on earth prepared statistics more carefully, more amply, or more vigilantly than the United States."

Conclusive as M. Simonin considers the logic of his figures, we have confessed our misgivings respecting this result. The time which seems so comparatively brief to him seems so long to us restless Americans, and the contingencies of three centuries are so incalculable to our positive ways of thinking, that while we admit his arithmetic, we do so with some vague dubitations. And yet the lessons of history, which suggest many doubts on such a question, give it also some strong probabilities. The arguments which we have given for the durability of the Union, through a briefer period, would seem to be relevant here also, and even with redoubled force ; for history

shows that it is the large states, provided they be homogeneous, in race and material interests, which are not only the most powerful, but the most durable. It was the little states of Germany and Italy that were most wrangling and precarious in the European system till their unification. There is more breathing room for the personal ambition of great leaders, more space for their activity in a useful way, as well as more important interests of the common citizens, in large than in petty states. As to the durability of the Republic through the requisite three centuries, history may console us with the facts that the Roman Republic lasted considerably longer, more than half the time longer; and the Swiss Republic has lasted nearly twice that time, and is as solid to-day as ever it has been.

We may take hope, also, from the character of our people. A people given to practical ideas and habitually absorbed in industrial interests, and especially in a country every natural condition of which appeals to such predispositions, is bound to be conservative, of the state at least, and to shun war. Our people are also notably homogeneous; foreign ideas and foreign languages quickly melt away among us. We have no dialects. So far as the English language is concerned, Sir John Dilke's "Greater Britain" is here. There is a still more vital sense in which our population is mostly homogeneous. It is predominantly of Teutonic blood; it comes not only of that old select Aryan race, which founded Indian and Persian, Greek and Latin civilization, but from the best modern branch of that race, the people who have outsped all its other branches, and who, to-day, lead all the others in colonization, in thought, in arts and arms. Not only were our fathers Anglo-Saxons, in both the East and the South, but our immigration has become the means of a re-infusion of the original German blood. At the period of the seventh census (1850) the Celtic element greatly predominated in our foreign population. Mr. Walker, superintendent of the late census, says that at that time "the United States might, with very little exaggeration, have been called New Ireland." But all this has since been rapidly changing, especially by immigration from the sterling Teutonic peoples of the Scandinavian states. Of the immigrants in the decade preceding 1850 the Germans amounted to but 25 per cent.; of those of the next decade they were 37 per cent.; their

gains over every other foreign race have gone on rapidly ever since, and it may be said that the immigrant re-enforcement of our population is now generally Teutonic. In 1850 the Irish were 43.5 per cent. of our total foreign population ; in 1860 they had fallen to 38.9 per cent. ; in 1870 to 33.3 per cent. The census for 1880 has not yet reported their present per centage, but Mr. Walker has announced that they do not now "constitute more than 27 per cent. of the foreign population of the country ;" that is to say, hardly more than one fourth. The fall from $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 27 per cent. is not a little significant.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the race element in the founding of the nation. Our colonial fathers, in both New England and Virginia, were not only Teutonic—Anglo-Saxons—but they were a select class of Anglo-Saxons. As Houghton, a New England divine, said, in 1688, "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." The leading families of the Virginia colonists are well known to have been of a high English type, but they were not more so than those of New England ; and the mass of the colonists of the latter were much superior to the same class in Virginia. Professor John Fisk has shown that the leaders in the East were fully equal to those of the South in their English standing and their character generally ; "they were highly educated and wealthy men ;" "in point of fact, the English ancestors of the Washingtons, Randolphs, Fairfaxes, and Talbots were no higher in social position than the families of the Winthrops, Dudleys, the Eatons and Saltonstalls. On the other hand, if we compare the mass of the settlers in Massachusetts and Connecticut with the mass of the settlers of Virginia, the advantage is altogether on the side of the Northern colonies ; their people were drawn from the very sturdiest part of the English stock. In all history there has been no other instance of a colony so exclusively peopled by picked and chosen men."

These Atlantic colonists have made the stamina of the nation. To say nothing of the millions of their descendants, who have gone westward from the Middle and Southern settlements, those of New England alone have spread out every-where and stamped the national type of character. The 21,000 Puritans who arrived in the East before the Long Parliament have become about 13,000,000 ; that is to say, more than one-fourth of

our present population. They have not only peopled all the Eastern States, but most of the interior of New York, and have swept thence to the Mississippi, founding the whole tier of great States along the lakes; and, at the breaking up of the somewhat regular movement of population by the gold discoveries of California, they have dispersed over all the far West, bearing with them the salutary traditions and institutions of their original home. Almost every-where they are the principal leaders of the commerce, the learned professions, the education, and the religious faith of the people.

With such a population, continually re-enforced by immigrants of the same Teutonic blood, we may hope that the future of the nation will be, as its past, safe and prosperous, though it may have struggles as in the past—struggles which, with nations as with individuals, invigorate. The native population has been the most effective force in all our national struggles. The American traveler in Europe is often amused by finding there quite a contrary impression. In Ireland he is saluted as the representative of a superlatively “illigant kentry,” which the Irish saved, in the Civil War, by their numbers and valor in battle. In Germany he is assured that his country is next in greatness to the “Vater-land,” and is particularly dear to the latter, because immigrant Germans saved it in the conflict with the Rebellion. He accepts gratefully the indirect compliment, but takes a sly satisfaction in stating the real statistics of the war. We know an American traveler who finds it convenient to bear about with him a brief printed copy of the official statistics, and to quietly present it for perusal in such cases. It shows:

American volunteers.....	1,523,267	English.....	45,508
German.....	176,817	Other foreign volunteers...	58,410
Irish.....	144,221	Drafted.....	521,068
British American.....	55,332		

Doubtless many of these “American volunteers” were descendants of foreigners; but are we not all such? We may add that the official medical statistics, which are highly prized by European statisticians, show the superiority of the native American troops in height, breadth of shoulders, strength, power of endurance, and recovery in the hospitals.

There is one problem of our population which has not apparently arrested public attention, and which may seriously

affect our future. In the extinction of slavery was extinguished the most formidable peril of the Republic; but we have been too much disposed to rest satisfied with that result, and have hardly thought of another evil which it entails upon us. We have suffered severe retribution for the great sin, but are not yet through with its penalty? Law is as vigorous in its penalties as in its precepts, otherwise it would cease to be law; and law prevails invincibly in the social and political as well as in the physical world. The sins of nations, it has been said, have their retribution in the present world, though the individual accountability for them extends into the next. If sin is the "transgression" of the law, the endurance and right use of its penalties may, in a certain sense, be its "fulfillment," and may be salutary, especially to nations. The problem to which we now allude may give us occasion for the development of high national virtues. Optimism is the only rational philosophy here; the existence of law must be good; its invincibility must in a general sense be ultimately good, as there could be no reliable law without it; pessimism is absurd in the august presence of beneficent law; and Americans should never be pessimists.

The present problem is this: What must be the future of our African population and its results to the nation? The last census shows that it increases at a rate greater than that of the general population. It was then, in round numbers, 6,500,000, and equal to all our foreign-born population. The Paris "Bulletin" is surprised by this fact. The "Africans," it says, "were in 1870 only 4,880,000; but in 1880 they were 6,577,151. Their rate of increase is greater than that of the whites. This is a phenomenon curious and truly new—it is the first time, we believe, that a fact of the kind has been witnessed in statistical geography." An eminent historian, Professor Freeman, who has lately traveled in the United States, has pointed to this fact as one of the gravest reasons for national anxiety. Our colored population is already much larger than the whole population at the beginning of the nation—hard on to double the latter. We must bear in mind that its superior rate of increase is without the aid of immigration, upon which the growth of the whites so much depends. If it should double, not at its own present rate of increase, but at that of the general population, say in about

every 27 years, it will be greater, within the life-time of our children, in about 70 years, than the present population of some of the important states of Europe; greater by millions than that of France, and advancing hard up toward the present figure of our whole population, white and black. In about 81 years it will be some two millions more than our aggregate population at the last census—but three years ago.

Here assuredly is matter for serious reflection. What are we to do with this people, who have hitherto deserved so well of the Republic? If we have made them politically our equals, still, by our conventional opinions they are socially proscribed; and, unfortunately for the problem, the chief cause of that proscription, though it be but "skin deep," confronts us on their very brows. According to almost universal opinion the repugnance which it produces, and which prevents their blending, like all other races among us, with the common population, is founded, it is affirmed, in instinctive feeling; for, say what we please on the subject, a black rose could never be as acceptable to natural taste as a white or red one. It is an old maxim that "there is no accounting for taste;" were it true, it would not lessen the difficulty of the present problem; but the American people deny the maxim in this case; they repel "amalgamation," and insist that their distaste for it is founded in nature, and, therefore, can be accounted for. But are we to go on indefinitely, with (numerically) a nation, and a mighty nation, within the nation? Can we successfully so go on? Whatever may be the political condition of this people, its social proscription cannot fail to degrade it and embarrass and degrade us. In spite of all its struggles upward, and its political and moral claims to equality, it will be kept down by such a proscription; it will become an immense caste. Can a democratic nation like ours subsist prosperously with a perpetual and ever-growing caste? Can we safely incorporate in our republican and Christian civilization the Pariah barbarism of the Hindus?

We have our answers to these questions, but cannot present them here for lack of room. The problems we have been considering, are suggestive of not a few other urgent questions. Indisputably this nation stands before the world to-day in an attitude never heretofore seen in the history of nations. Both

our friends and our enemies abroad admonish us of that fact. We have reached a point where we must, in the interests of our children and of the human race, face some further and most momentous problems, and we should do so frankly and courageously. In a future paper we may discuss some of them.

ART. III.—RESULTS OF THE FIRST METHODIST ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE

In this paper I purpose to give some of the more important results of the Methodist Ecumenical Conference in City Road Chapel. And as I intend to confine myself to them, I begin by stating broadly that the Conference has already resulted in great good to universal Methodism, to the Church of Christ, and to the world, warranting the sure promise of much greater good for years to come. I am persuaded that the gathering of Methodists in City Road Chapel was providential, as providential as any fact in Methodist history, a history marked all along by special providences, ever since what Mr. Wesley called Methodism's "first rise," in 1729, in Oxford; or its "second rise," in 1736, at Savannah, Ga.; or its "third rise," in 1739, in London, when he organized the first Methodist societies.

The place, too, where the Conference was held was the most appropriate, and the time when the most opportune. The place was City Road Chapel, a spot as sacred to the followers of the great Methodist revivalist as Jerusalem to the followers of the Hebrew lawgiver, or Mecca to the followers of the Mohammedan prophet. It is true that the place was not in Aldersgate Street, where Wesley is said to have been converted; nor was it at the Old Foundry, Methodism's earliest chapel. For no Methodist chapel has ever been builded on the spot where, on that memorable night in Aldersgate Street, May, 1738, Wesley's heart was so "strangely warmed," and the Old Foundry was soon exchanged for Mr. Wesley's new chapel in City Road. City Road Chapel early became the nucleus of Wesley's labors, whence radiated those spiritual and revival influences which swept over the Three Kingdoms.

Opposite the chapel, and on the other side of the street

called City Road, is the celebrated Bunhill Fields, where are deposited the bones of the Dissenters, who, against king and court and bishops, boldly asserted their right to liberty of conscience and to worship God as the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Spirit seemed to them to teach. There lies all that is mortal of the great dreamer who described the Christian pilgrim's journey from this world to the celestial city; and there lies the body of Isaac Watts, the sweetest singer in Israel till Charles Wesley came, since death silenced forever royal David's tuneful harp. There many others, whose names to the lovers of religious liberty in both hemispheres are like fragrant and precious ointment, quietly sleep, waiting the trump of the archangel to arouse them from their graves. And there, too, rests the body of that "elect lady," so dear to the people called Methodists, Susanna Wesley, wife of the saintly rector of Epworth, and the mother of John Wesley, Methodism's great founder, and of Charles Wesley, Methodism's great lyric poet. As one enters the open court which leads to City Road Chapel, there, on the right, is the house of John Wesley, in which he gave back his life to God, and where, with his almost latest breath, he uttered those words which have been as a talisman to so many thousands in the dying hour, "The best of all is, God is with us." On the left, and in the rear of the house used as a parsonage by the preacher in charge of City Road Chapel Circuit, and directly facing the open court, is the room where Joseph Benson wrote his great commentary. In the chapel itself is the pulpit from which Wesley preached to the multitudes that hung upon his lips; and there, along its walls, are the marble tablets of many of Methodism's sainted dead. And in the humble grave-yard behind the chapel is the monument which tells us that the body of John Wesley lies beneath it; there the one which reminds us that we stand by the grave of Adam Clarke; and there are the tombs which hold the dust of many other illustrious Methodist worthies. There, in City Road Chapel, consecrated by so many precious memories of Methodism's earlier and later history, was most appropriately held the first Methodist Ecumenical Conference.

And the time for the Methodist hosts to gather in City Road Chapel was the most opportune. The fullness of time had come. An earlier date would have been too soon; if it had

been postponed to some future period it might have been too late. The Methodist world was ready for the Ecumenical gathering; the fatlings and the oxen were killed, and all were eager for the feast. What had gone before was the preparation before Methodism's greatest Sabbath; when that Sabbath came, Methodism awoke to the resurrection of even newer life, and of still brighter hopes for the future. Silently, but surely, through the long years past, God was preparing for the hour when he would show to his Church and to the world what he had wrought for both through his servant, John Wesley, and the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century.

Not without many a hard struggle, and many long years of patient waiting, has Methodism at last had assigned to it any thing like its true place in English and ecclesiastical history. It was at first caricatured and satirized by poets and painters; it was mimicked by the wits of London; it was besmirched by the "successors in scurrility of the comic dramatists of the Restoration." Archiepiscopal sees madly anathematized it; bishops hurled bitter invectives and wrote scurrilous things against it; parish priests and curates derided it and persecuted it; courtly lords and high-born ladies treated it to jibes and sneers; and an ignorant rabble and a besotted populace, urged on by them all, often pelted it with brickbats and with rotten eggs. High-Churchmen, like Warburton and Lavington, assailed Methodism and its saintly founder with bitterness and rage; evangelicals, like Toplady and Rowland Hill, inveighed against both in language more suited to fishmongers than to preachers of the Gospel of peace. The great Baptist preacher, Robert Hall, speaking of the abuse which Toplady heaped upon the devoted head of John Wesley "for things purely speculative and of very little importance," says that he would not have incurred the sin of that abuse for ten thousand worlds. But none of these things moved John Wesley. "The most extraordinary thing about the Methodist movement," writes Robert Hall, "was that while Wesley set all in motion, he himself was perfectly calm and phlegmatic; he was the quiescence of turbulence." When I entered Machinery Hall, at our Centennial, in 1876, I was greeted with the buzz of saws, the clatter of shuttles, the hum of spindles, and with

many other noises in that vast acreage of machinery. In the middle of the immense hall I saw that the huge wheel of a Corliss engine was connected by bands with every machine in the building, from the most ponderous, to the lightest performing the most delicate ladies' needle-work. Silently, noiselessly, without friction, it was setting all in motion, while all around was din and confusion. Then I could understand what Robert Hall meant by the "quiescence of turbulence." What was seen and heard in Machinery Hall was no mean illustration of Wesley and his work. Unmoved by the taunts and jibes of the malignant, the sneers and derision of scoffers, the indifferentism of careless Gallios, the invectives and anathemas of worldly prelates, and the peltings of brutal mobs, John Wesley, with unparalleled English manliness, with heroic faith in God and his promises to the faithful, and with love to God and love to man for God's sake as his sole controlling motive, went through the Three Kingdoms, every-where proclaiming the newly-revived and glad evangel, arousing the slumbering Established and Non-conformist Churches, reclaiming the backslidden, and saving the lost. And ere he closed his eyes in death, at his house in City Road, he lived to see thousands of happy, joyous Christians in his societies and in the Churches of the Establishment and Dissent, and to hear himself invited and welcomed back to pulpits from which he had been rudely shut out.

Before the eighteenth century ended, the evangelical work of Wesley began to be acknowledged, and the claim of Methodism as a new and great spiritual force to be confessed. But this acknowledgment and confession were slow in their growth, partial and circumscribed in their extent. The nineteenth century passed its meridian before, in the Old World, or in the New where it has had its largest development, Methodism came to be treated with any thing like fairness. Meanwhile, in both, and notably in the New more than in the Old, Methodism, by its unparalleled successes, was powerfully vindicating its rightful claim to be considered the greatest force that God, in these latter days, has set in motion for the revival of his work and the spread of his Gospel. A few advanced thinkers outside of Methodism began in a measure to comprehend and acknowledge the justice of this claim. Lord Macaulay recog-

nized it, and to some extent acknowledged it, when he condemned "those books called Histories of England in the reign of George II. in which the rise of Methodism is not even mentioned." Mr. Buckle, the skeptical author of the "History of Civilization in England," saw the influence of John Wesley—whom he called "the first of theological statesmen"—upon the English Church, when he wrote that Wesley exerted as great an influence upon the Established Church of England as Luther exerted upon the Church of Rome. Robert Southey, once England's poet laureate, on whose head, when a mere child in Bristol, the hand of John Wesley was placed, and who felt that touch as a benediction through all his future life, in beautiful prose scarcely equaled in biographical literature, and with surprising fairness in one so little qualified to judge the spiritual side of the great Methodist revivalist, wrote a charming life of Wesley, whom, as he subsequently wrote, he considered "the most influential mind of the last century, the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long." Isaac Taylor, a very able and philosophic writer of the Church of England, though far from comprehending the true genius of Methodism, yet characterized the Methodist movement "as the starting-point of our modern religious polity, and the field-preaching of Wesley and Whitefield as the event whence the religious epoch now current must date its commencement," and saw that "the Methodism of the past age points forward to the next coming development of the powers of the Gospel." The name of Wesley had become such a household word in many British homes that Earl Stanhope, in his "History of England," wrote that "thousands who never heard of Fontenoy or Walpole continued to follow the precepts and to venerate the name of John Wesley." Sir James Stephen, in his "Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography," writing about the good men of Clapham who met at the princely mansion of the Thorntons, tells us that the whole evangelical party of the Church of England may trace their spiritual genealogy by regular descent from the Methodist George Whitefield, Mr. Wesley's disciple at Oxford, and the great pulpit orator of the Methodist movement. Nor at this day, however Wesley and his evangelical work may have been

caricatured and satirized by it, is English fiction without appreciation of the founder of Methodism. In "Adam Bede," he is "that man of God who spent his whole life in doing what our blessed Master did, preaching the Gospel to the poor." And in the "Diary of Mistress Kitty Trevylyan," he is the preacher who appeared "not so much to plead as to speak with authority, who by the force of his own conviction made his hearers feel that every word he said was true; and yet so moved were they that many would weep, some would sob as if their hearts would break, and many would gaze as if they would not weep, nor stir, lest they should lose a word."

But it belongs to the last decade to have done much fuller justice to Mr. Wesley and the Methodist movement. Of late, there has been a wonderful revival of thought on the life and work of John Wesley. Mr. Curteis, in his Bampton Lectures before the University of Oxford, in 1871, calls Mr. Wesley "the purest, noblest, most saintly clergyman of the eighteenth century, whose whole life was passed in the sincere and loyal effort to do good." Mr. Green, Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford, in his "Short History of the English People," tells us that "the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival;" that "its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy, and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting, parson and the absentee rector at last impossible." Mr. Perry, Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington, in his "History of the Church of England," says that it was John Wesley who "brought out with great force the teachings of the Church on the doctrines of grace, and showed to many of the clergy the meaning of their formularies which they had not before apprehended." Dr. Stoughton, in his "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," calls Methodism "a fact in the history of England which develops into large and much larger dimensions as time rolls on," and says that "its rise and progress may be regarded as the most important ecclesiastical fact of modern times." In "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," the joint work of Messrs. Abbey and Overton, both of the University of Oxford and distinguished presbyters of the Church of England, Mr. Abbey

tells us that Methodism "marked a decided turn, not only in popular feeling on religious topics and in the language of the pulpit, but also in theological and philosophical thought in general," and that it was William Law, and, far more practically and effectively, it was John Wesley, who gave the death-blow to the eighteenth century forms of Deism. Mr. Overton, in the same work, tells us that Wesley "stands pre-eminent among the worthies who originated and conducted the revival of practical religion which took place in the last century." "The world," he adds, "has at length done tardy justice to its benefactor." Mr. Gladstone, the Premier of England, in his "Evangelical Movement: Its Parentage, Progress, and Issue," says that Wesley, whom he calls "that extraordinary man, whose life and acts have taken their place in the religious history, not only of England, but of Christendom," gave "the main impulse out of which sprang the Evangelical movement." Dr. Conant, in his "Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents," writes that, in this movement, Wesley was "rather alone than eminent." J. Stowell Brown, of Liverpool, who has the reputation of being the most cultured Baptist preacher in England, when spokesman for the Non-conformist delegation of ministers to the Wesleyan Conference, Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, July, 1881, in his address before the Wesleyan body, which the writer of this paper heard, said that but one man deserved to be called the saviour of England, and that that man was John Wesley. Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "Wesleyanism was, in many respects, by far the most important phenomenon of the eighteenth century." Mr. Lecky, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield, I think, in real importance, to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield." John Wesley, he thinks, had a prominent place in saving England from the horrors and infidelity of the French Revolution, and from the anarchy which was threatened by "the creation of the great manufacturing centers," and the angry contest

which arose between capital and labor; and that this John Wesley did by "opening a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time giving a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich." "The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect," he writes, "extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history." "The Methodists," he adds, "have already far outnumbered every other Non-conformist body in England, and every other religious body in the United States, and they are probably destined largely to increase; while the influence of the movement transformed for a time the whole spirit of the Established Church, and has been more or less felt in every Protestant community speaking the English language." And it was John Wesley—as Mr. Lecky writes in a letter to me—who, while the politicians were doing so much to divide, did so much, in spite of civil war and international jealousy, to unite the two great branches of the English people.

It will be noticed that in this paper we have presented no judgment of Wesley by any Methodist writer, or by any one who is at all connected with Methodism. Methodist authorities have been passed over in silence. Neither Richard Watson nor Abel Stevens has been mentioned; nor have we mentioned Methodism's later writers, Dr. Rigg, Luke Tyerman, or M. Lelièvre; nor have we named any who have recently written for "The Wesley Memorial Volume; or, Wesley and the Methodist Movement, judged by nearly one hundred and fifty writers, living or dead." It was to be expected that the testimony of the great men of Methodism in both hemispheres, whom the editor of that volume enlisted to write for it, would be favorable to Wesley and the Methodist movement. But Methodists are not the only ones who have written expressly for the Wesley Memorial Volume, or whose judgments, expressed elsewhere, are given in it. In that volume—both those who wrote expressly for it and those whose judgments of Methodism and its founder, given elsewhere, are presented in it—whether the writers are Arminian or Calvinistic Methodists;

whether High-Churchmen, Low-Churchmen, or Broad-Churchmen of the Church of England—whether Baptists, Presbyterians, Independents, Lutherans, Moravians, Salzburgers, or of the Reformed Church of France—whether English, American, Canadian, Irish, Scotch, German, or French—give concurrent testimony, so far as it relates to John Wesley as a revivalist of the Churches and to Methodism as a great spiritual force in the world.

Now one would suppose such evidence were enough to make the claim of Methodism universally acknowledged, and to close every mouth raised against it. But very few have seen the testimony thus presented. Many of the authorities mentioned in this paper have had their respective readers, but how few the number who have collated and compared them. Besides, if one outside of Methodism had read, collated, and compared all that has been said of Mr. Wesley and Methodism, he would have needed the evidence presented by the gathering of Ecumenical Methodism in City Road Chapel to enable him to form any thing like even an approximate estimate of the power and progress of Methodism. Nor is this true of those beyond the pale of Methodism alone. Before the assemblage in City Road Chapel, Methodism did not know its own power. The wisest and best-informed Methodists needed just the evidence which the Ecumenical Conference gave to show the nature and extent of what God had wrought in the world by the Methodist movement. The Ecumenical Conference taught what could not be learned from books. It supplied what could not be gained by the most intimate acquaintance with the work of the respective Methodisms represented on the floor of the Conference. It showed to Methodists themselves, to other Churches, to the outside world, what had not been known before. And it gave to what was shown a publicity which nothing else could have given. Comparatively few, and they but imperfectly, had learned from books what Methodism has accomplished; millions were taught it, and far better, by assembled Methodism in City Road Chapel. The Conference aroused an interest in Methodism, and an inquiry into its history, its nature, and its work, unheard-of in all the past. All eyes were directed to it. In England Annual Conferences of the respective Methodisms, outside of themselves, had been

of very little account. They came and went without notice, scarcely causing a ripple on the surface of current life and work. An Annual Conference of the Wesleyans in London was an event of trifling significance to others; hardly more significant was it in Liverpool or Manchester. But not so was it with the Ecumenical Conference. The spectacle of Methodism from all parts of the world assembled in the world's metropolis, from both hemispheres, from all continents, from Upper and Lower Canada, from New Brunswick, from Nova Scotia, from Newfoundland, from every State and almost from every Territory of the United States, from Mexico, from South America, from Africa, from Australia, from New Zealand, from the Fiji Islands, from China, from Japan, from India, from Italy, from Germany, from Prussia, from France, from Norway, from Sweden, from England, from Wales, from Scotland, and from Ireland, was a spectacle which attracted almost universal attention. The press, secular and religious, heralded its coming, and reported its proceedings after it came. The great London dailies—the "Times," the "News," the "Standard," and the "Telegraph"—through their respective reporters, gave well-prepared and truthful synopses of its daily proceedings. At breakfast every one throughout Great Britain who took one of the great London dailies read these reports with the same interest he had read, a short time before, the debates on the Irish Land Bill in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. The electric telegraph flashed the daily proceedings of the Conference to the provincial papers of Great Britain and Ireland; submarine cables dispatched them to all quarters of the Christian world where there is a telegraph and a printing-press. Leaders after leaders—many written with surprising fairness and discrimination—appeared in the dailies, and in the weeklies, both secular and religious. In due time appeared able and appreciative reviews in the monthlies and the quarterlies. Methodism was thus the better understood, and its great work more highly appreciated. The debates of the Conference on many questions of great and practical interest, and the ability and spirit with which these debates were conducted, were greatly approved and commended. And the progress of Methodism, which the Ecumenical Conference tangibly and practically demonstrated, astounded all. Most

Englishmen had been accustomed to think of Methodism only in its relation, as seen in Great Britain, to the overpowering and overshadowing Establishment. But now they saw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, what a mighty spiritual force Methodism is in the world, and how great its progress and development from small beginnings scarcely a century and a half ago. But one hundred and forty-four years had passed since Wesley fled from his persecutors in Georgia, a fugitive and an exile, believing that his life was a failure. But now over five million communicants are called by his name ; over one hundred and twenty-five thousand itinerant and local preachers are preaching the same Gospel which he preached ; nearly six million children are in Methodist Sabbath-schools ; and thirty million adherents are under Methodist influence. No wonder the outside Christian and the irreligious world were astounded by such amazing results. Christians of other evangelical Churches rejoiced to see what God had wrought through Methodism ; and the irreligious world conceived a respect for Methodism such as it had never had. Was not, then, the time for holding the Ecumenical Conference most opportune ? And was not Methodism a great gainer by it ?

One event happened during the Conference which deserve passing notice. This was the death of President Garfield. Near the close of the Conference the sad intelligence was announced that the President of the United States had at last yielded up his life a victim to the bullet of the assassin. Day after day prayer had been offered that his life might be spared. These prayers, and the sense of a common affliction, had drawn into closer union and fellowship the delegates from the various Methodisms of the United States. All distinctions of party and race and color, of North and South, were obliterated by the heaviness of the blow which had fallen on all Americans alike. A warmer and a deeper brotherly feeling was kindled in every American heart, heightened and intensified by the true and generous sympathy which every Briton in the Conference extended to their brethren from America who were bowed down by a common sorrow. But pure and true and deep as was this brotherly feeling when we prayed for our President living, it was increased manifold when we prayed for the wife and children of our President dead, and our

English and Welsh and Scotch and Irish Methodist brethren mingled their tears with ours.

But we come now to notice more particularly the influence of the Ecumenical Conference upon Methodism itself, and notably upon the Wesleyans of Great Britain and Ireland. But before we write what we have to say about the Wesleyans, it may be well to indicate the sources of our information respecting them, and the opportunities we had of estimating their spirit and work.

In 1878 I visited the Wesleyan Conference at Bradford, and, seated upon its platform, was for three weeks a daily attendant upon its proceedings. During that time I made the acquaintance of many prominent Wesleyan preachers and laymen, for whom I came to entertain a high regard. In public and in private, in the conference room, at dinings, and elsewhere, I was a close observer of the Wesleyans who honored me with their acquaintance. From Bradford I soon went to London, where I remained for three months. There again, in many ways, I was brought into more perfect knowledge of the Wesleyans and their work. This work was my study. I studied in their books, in their Church papers, magazines, and reviews, in the Minutes of their Conferences, and in attendance on their meetings; and I learned much from conversations with many of their leaders. Not only my special mission to England—to solicit the co-operation of British Methodists in building in Savannah, Georgia, the Wesley Monumental Church as a connectional and ecumenical work—but the conception of the Wesley Memorial Volume, and the effort to secure the best Wesleyan writers as contributors to its pages, brought me into a correspondence with Wesleyans which has been to me both a profit and a delight. Again, in 1881, about six weeks before the Ecumenical Conference, I was for ten days at the Wesleyan Conference, during its session in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool. The interval between the Wesleyan Conference in Liverpool and the Ecumenical Conference I spent in London. All this time, and during the Ecumenical Conference itself, in which I sat as one of the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, I was a close student of Wesleyanism, its men, its spirit, its institutions, its methods, and its work. While others were hurrying through the Three Kingdoms and the Continent, tak-

ing a bird's-eye view of what they saw, I never went outside of London, both during my sojourn there in 1878, and afterward in 1881, unless I except a trip of six hours to Windsor, when the Ecumenical Conference was over. Hence, I saw Wesleyanism, not only on its gala days and dress parades, but in camp and in field.

When I looked on the Wesleyans at Bradford in 1878, and again at Liverpool in 1881, I thought that these eyes never beheld a finer or more imposing body of men. And I do not speak of their physique—though that was manly and commanding—but of their intellectual endowments, their mental wealth, their practical common sense, their mastery of business, their knowledge of parliamentary law, and their skill in debate. Neither did consecration to their work, nor any moral or spiritual force, appear to be wanting. I was devoutly filled with admiration, and often silently gave praise to Almighty God for raising up so many sons of Wesley to carry on the great work of revival which God had committed to their hands. Both at Bradford and at Liverpool the Wesleyans impressed me as a great and powerful body of ministers of the Lord Jesus. And, as I looked on, here, thought I, is intellectual and spiritual power enough to turn the Three Kingdoms from sin and Satan to God. What, I asked myself, could John Wesley have accomplished if he had had at his back the great preachers whom I saw before me—the president, the ex-presidents, the governors and tutors of colleges, the missionaries to far-off lands, the superintendents of districts, and the great body of educated and well-trained ministers of circuits? And when I beheld the Mixed Conference of preachers and laymen assembled for the first time at Bradford, I asked what limits to Wesley's work, if he had had to aid him these consecrated merchant princes from Bradford and Manchester, these wealthy bankers from Liverpool and London, these rich miners from the Principality and from Cornwall, these influential magistrates of provincial towns, these learned councilors of the Queen, these titled baronets of the crown, and these eloquent members of the High Court of Parliament? But where, I further asked, in all England, in Wales, in Scotland, or in Ireland, was there evidence of work for the Master commensurate with the great intellectual, moral, and religious forces of the Wesleyan body?

That body, it is true, is the largest of the Methodist bodies of Great Britain and Ireland ; it is much larger, indeed, than any other Non-conformist body in England. But ought it not to have been much larger than it is ? We make every allowance for what Wesleyanism has lost through emigration to other countries. And it has thus lost a great deal. The Methodisms of other parts of the world—in the United States, the Canadas, Australia, and many isles of the sea—have largely gained by the losses of the Wesleyans. What has been thus lost to Wesleyanism has been a great gain to Methodism elsewhere. And while we think that its progress at home has not kept pace with the means at its command, we gladly acknowledge that its success in distant missionary fields is without a parallel in the history of modern missions. The Wesleyans of Great Britain and Ireland have the most successful Protestant Missionary Church in the world. Over one hundred thousand converts to Christianity, now living in heathen lands, tells the bright story of their success as a Missionary Church. God be praised for this ! If the Wesleyans had done nothing more, they would be justly entitled to the plaudits of evangelical Protestantism in all parts of the world. But why, it may still be asked, has Wesleyanism not effected greater conquests at home ? There is but one answer to this question, and it is the whole answer. It is an answer which applies as well to other Methodist bodies of Great Britain and Ireland, and, indeed, to all Non-conformist bodies in the Three Kingdoms. The one cause of comparative failure in all is the overshadowing power of the Establishment. The Wesleyans are so overshadowed by the great and powerful Establishment as to be afraid of their own shadows. If they had had in England the same zeal and courage and faith which have ever distinguished them in lands where they have been beyond the fear-producing shadow of the Establishment, their success in England would have been much greater. We do not say that, by this time, Wesleyanism ought to have undermined the Establishment, or to have wholly pervaded it with its own spirit. But we do say that the relative strength of the Establishment ought to have been weakened, and the relative strength of Wesleyanism greatly increased.

Do we expect these things to continue in the future as in the

past? By no means. We confidently expect much larger results to Wesleyanism in the years to come. The Ecumenical Conference gave to Wesleyanism the very thing it needed. It greatly encouraged and strengthened Wesleyanism. The Wesleyans saw that, though they are a small body compared with the Established Church, they are a great part of the most powerful evangelical body in the world. To the other Methodisms, forming in the aggregate a mighty spiritual force, the Wesleyan body stands related as the parent body of the whole. They saw how many stalwart sons stand at the back of "the mother of us all." Hence, by the Ecumenical Conference, the very back-bone of Wesleyanism was stiffened, its faith increased, its courage strengthened, its zeal quickened. Looking beyond the Atlantic, and seeing what Methodist faith and Methodist courage and Methodist zeal and Methodist manhood have accomplished, under God, in the New World, Wesleyanism, with armor refurbished and strengthened, has buckled it on anew, and gone forth to the contest with largely increased assurance of success.*

In a paper on the Ecumenical Conference it may be well to notice its effects on Disestablishment. While the union of Church and State may have saved Protestantism to England by uniting her people against the Papal power, it has certainly hampered freedom of thought at home by its direct, or indirect, proscription of all who do not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. It has not only hindered the growth of other forms of evangelical Protestantism, but it has necessarily weakened the Church itself by its latitudinarianism, by its laxity of discipline, by its benefices, by its preferments, and by infusing worldly policies and maxims into the Church of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. The Establishment having served its day as a bulwark against the armed coalitions of Catholic Europe, and English Protestantism being no longer in danger from this quarter, there are thousands in England, *inside*, as well as *outside*, of the Establishment, who think that the only way to correct the evils inseparable from

* Long after the above was written we received the report of the Wesleyans for 1881-1882. The result has been as we expected. The past has been by far the most signal and successful in the history of British Wesleyanism for many long years.

the union of Church and State is to dissolve that union now and forever. Hence, Disestablishment—that is, the separation of Church and State—is the rallying cry of many within the Establishment itself.

In the Established Church of England there are three great parties—the High-Church, or the Liturgical, party; the Low-Church, or the Evangelical, party; and the Broad-Church, or the Latitudinarian, party. In the High-Church party many are seeking disestablishment. Their theory is that the Church is supreme, and that Christ is the only lawgiver. Believing that they can worship God more acceptably by more aesthetic forms and more imposing rubries than those prescribed and sanctioned by the laws of the realm, they aim to place the Church and its service beyond the power of Acts of Parliament. And as this can only be done by the separation of Church and State, they are for that. Already have some of the parish priests of this party been tried, convicted, and punished for infractions upon the rubrics of the Church. The Judge of the Arches Court—called in England the Dean of the Arches—has pronounced against appellants from the lower Ecclesiastical Courts, who were convicted of worshiping God contrary to the prescribed forms of the Church of England. The convicted have been doomed to prison walls for reasons like to those which sentenced John Bunyan and Richard Baxter to English jails. That they may worship God according to forms which the conscience and taste of the worshipers dictate, they are sufferers in a cause like to that which sent Presbyterians to the pillory and Methodists to the horse-pond.

But not only are many of the High-Church party contending for disestablishment, but many of the Low-Church party are doing the same thing. The truly evangelical of this party have learned, from an experience of nearly one hundred and fifty years, that no State Church can be wholly pervaded by a revival of religion. They have learned more than this. They have learned that establishment is no fruitful soil for evangelicism. The leaders of the evangelical party, its Cecils, its Scotts, its Milners, its Newtons, its Cowpers, and its Thorntons—successors to its Venns, its Berridges, its Romaines, its Herveyes, and its Topladys, who received their inspiration direct from the Wesleys and Whitefield—have themselves been

succeeded, in these later years, by some who, like Newman and Manning, have gone over to Rome. The latter part of the nineteenth century exhibits the strange phenomenon of a Church whose highest ritualists are more spiritual and evangelical than many of the successors of the evangelicals of the eighteenth. These things are forcing upon some of the Low-Church party of this day the anxious inquiry, Why this phenomenal condition of things? The answer they find in the fact that a State Church must of necessity be so latitudinarian in doctrine and so lax in discipline as to include thousands of self-seekers, whose only connection with it is the accident of birth; whose only orthodoxy is the formal subscription of their hands, and not of their hearts, to its Thirty-nine Articles; and whose only spiritual pabulum is the loaves and fishes which it holds out to them. To free themselves from influences so hurtful to evangelicalism and all healthful Christian growth, many of the Low-Church party are also advocating the separation of Church and State. A comparison of evangelicalism *within* with evangelicalism *without* the Establishment, forces the conviction that the Church is the purer the freer it is from connection with the State. Broad-Churchmen, as the rule, may favor establishment; many High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen, for the reasons given, are for disestablishment.

Among those in England favoring disestablishment are the Non-conformists, namely, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists, and the various Methodist bodies, except the Wesleyans. Strange to say, the Wesleyan leaders have been mainly Tory, or conservative, in Church politics. The Wesleyans have been a powerful breakwater against the tide which threatens the overthrow of the Establishment; and yet the Establishment has so fettered Wesleyanism as greatly to hinder its progress. This influence of the Wesleyans, being the largest and most powerful Non-conformist body in England, has had very great weight. In a conversation with some of the Primitive Methodist leaders we were told that, if the Wesleyans would unite with the other Non-conformists of England, and with those of the Church of England who are advocating disestablishment, it would not be ten years before the separation of Church and State would be an accomplished fact. But it must be said that there are strong and able men among the

younger Wesleyans who do not hold the views of the older and more conservative leaders. They, too, are for disestablishment. This growing party within the Wesleyan body needed to be strengthened. The needed strength was given by the Ecumenical Conference. The growth of Methodism in countries—as in the United States of America—where there is no union of Church and State, contrasted with its growth where such union exists, could not fail to exert a great influence upon both parties in the Wesleyan body. The one was strengthened; the other, correspondingly weakened. Hence, as one of the results of the Ecumenical Conference, we expect to see the Wesleyans united against establishment; and, at an early day, as predicted by the Primitive Methodists, the separation of Church and State in England.

Another result of the late Ecumenical Conference will be that the Wesleyans will be less exclusive and more connectional, less national and more international, in the future. We shall not mention all that is suggested by this thought, or all that the facts fully warrant. British exclusiveness may not have lessened respect for British authority, but it has greatly affected the love of others for the British people. The superciliousness common to Englishmen has not been so changed and sanctified by grace as to disappear altogether in English Christians. British superiority is asserted, not only in arms, in government, and in literature, but in Christian culture and in Christian work. An Englishman of the times of Pitt or of Gladstone, whatever his religious faith, is like an Athenian in the days of Pericles, or Demosthenes. As no pre-eminence was admitted outside of Attica; so no pre-eminence is admitted outside of England. And as the average Athenian, asserting an exclusive claim to originality, refused to be taught by others; so the average Englishman, asserting a like claim, believes that no other can instruct him. But this is an age in which the tendency—to a greater degree in America than in England—has been to the strengthening of international ties. The community of interest, of similar pursuits, and of like principles has been growing stronger, as the facilities for international communication have been multiplied by steam and telegraph. This community of interest, pursuits, and principles has formed a bond of union between men of different nationalities

almost as strong as that of kindred and blood. Class gravitates to class as never was known before in the history of the human race. And when to the bond of which we are speaking has been added the bond of a common faith in a common Redeemer—the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace—the international is strengthened, and the merely national proportionately weakened. That God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that the salvation of all—whatever one's nationality may be—is equally the care of the common Father, is being the more received as a divine truth. Now, British exclusiveness, not theoretically it is true, but practically and surely, has been in the way of the development of this idea. There has not been that oneness of aim and feeling between British Christians and American Christians of the same faith and order which a common ancestry and superior international communication would lead us to expect. It is true that there is not so great a union between American Christians and French Christians. But this does not militate against that for which we are contending. There is but one reason to assign for this—the fewness of the number of Frenchmen who are at one with any body of Protestant Christians in the United States. *If Frenchmen were Protestants and Methodists—even with less facilities for intercommunication—the bond of union between them and American Methodists, notwithstanding the differences in race and language, would be far greater than that between American and British Methodists.* British exclusiveness has been the cause of this—an exclusiveness which, as we believe, was greatly modified by the Ecumenical Conference. British Methodists and American Methodists were there brought nearer, and were bound more closely together. The exclusive Methodist Englishman decreased; the international, the cosmopolitan Methodist Englishman, increased.

It has been painful to American Methodists to see how little practical sympathy British Methodists have had in work outside of themselves—especially in work on this side of the Atlantic. They have been shut up within themselves, caring but little for the enterprises of others. This has been at the expense of that enlarged liberality which bears one another's burdens. No great body of Christians are more liberal to themselves; few,

perhaps, less liberal to others. In providing for their own the Wesleyans are beyond praise. Witness the recent Thanksgiving Fund, and the ample provision for their ministers. The Wesleyans have, pecuniarily, the best-endowed body of Christian ministers in the world. To get within the Conference, and to keep within it, is to be well endowed for life. The average provision for a Wesleyan minister is much above the average provision for the priests and curates of the Establishment. Indeed, the truly self-denying and cross-bearing ministers of the England of to-day are the lesser parish priests and curates of the English Church. While societies of ladies are formed all over the realm to beg second-hand and cast-off clothing for the poorer clergy and their families, the Wesleyans have splendidly provided for the education and even the maintenance of the children of their ministers, for the help of the widows and orphans of their deceased pastors, and for the support of their supernumerary as well as their superannuated preachers. Liberality is expended in this way more largely than by any other Christian Church. And so jealous are the ministers themselves to secure to the beneficiaries what is devoted to these uses, that they guard, with the utmost vigilance, all admissions to the Conference, lest the applicant, if received, diminish the distributive share of those already admitted. And this is too often done at the expense of aggressiveness. At the Wesleyan Conference, held at Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, July, 1881, at which the writer was present, not an applicant was admitted to the Conference, though about seventy-five—chiefly young men and graduates of its colleges and theological training-schools—were earnestly knocking at its doors. The argument which prevailed against their admission was that it would lessen the income of those who were already claimants on the Conference funds. The hardness of the times—the financial crisis—was pleaded as the excuse for this. In vain was it urged in reply that the fields were white to the harvest; in vain was the Conference incited to greater enterprise and stronger faith in God. Equally vain was the argument that, if God called these men and qualified them for the work of the itinerant ministry, he would also provide the means for their support. Every applicant was shut out, and all were held over till the next Conference, though it was

officially announced that, at the next Conference, the applicants would be increased to the number of near, if not quite, one hundred. The declaration of our Lord was thus practically reversed: in his day, the harvest was great and the laborers few; in the England of the present day, the harvest seems to be small and the laborers many. And thus the Wesleyans showed themselves liberal in providing for themselves and careful in holding on to that which was provided. Equally liberal, likewise, are the Wesleyans to their Foreign Missions. But even this is liberality to themselves, and not to others. For every Wesleyan looks upon the distant mission fields of his Church just as every Englishman regards the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. They are his own; they must be supported and defended; but when he provides for them he does no more than when he provides for his own household.

It is indeed marvelous how few appeals to the Wesleyans from American Methodists have been met with any thing like liberality. And that, too, though British Methodist enterprises not unfrequently have been presented to American Methodists, and found a hearty and generous response. In view of this there can be no question that enlarged liberality—a liberality which is confined at home is not enlarged—is not a grace bestowed upon the Wesleyan body. To bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ, is the law for all Christians. The law of mutual help should govern not only Churches of the same faith and order, but it would be wise, it would be noble, it would be catholic, it would be more than Christian—it would be Christ-like—if it were shown to all sister evangelical Churches that name the name of the same Lord. If Christians of different denominations would think less of their differences, and more of what they hold in common as the essentials of a common faith, they would rejoice more in one another's successes, and aid one another more in work for one and the same Master. Hence, we rejoice in every dollar given by one Christian denomination to another. Nothing serves to bind them more closely together; nothing more effectually destroys a sectarianism which has in it more of earth than heaven. If this be true of Christians of different denominations, how much truer is it when applied to those who

are called by the same name ! Every chance for help to others, when it is in our power to afford it, ought to be hailed as a privilege—as a blessed opportunity to develop that which makes us most akin to Him who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Instead of treating coldly those who come to us with duly accredited commissions from sister Churches to solicit aid, let us rather bid them Godspeed, and rejoice to assist them as of the ability which God giveth. If, therefore, the Ecumenical Conference has done aught to increase enlarged Christian liberality, it has done a glorious work. And this is what we believe it has done ; so confident are we of it, that we do not hesitate to set it down as one of its more important spiritual results. If it give to Wesleyan Methodism that for which it has been by no means pre-eminent, it will have accomplished a good thing. If Wesleyan Methodists be made “to abound in this grace also,” that will have been added to their otherwise eminent Christian character which will give to it a fullness and roundness that will cause, through many, abundant thanksgivings to God.

And now it will be in place to notice somewhat the influence of the Ecumenical Conference upon catholicity. In the Conference there were, if I remember rightly, twenty-seven different Methodisms. Among these there were differences in Church polity. On the floor of the same Conference there were Episcopal Methodists, and there were non-Episcopal Methodists ; there were ordained Bishops, and there were unordained—not ordained for special work as Bishops are—presidents and ex-presidents ; and there were presiding elders of districts, and there were superintendents of the same. On the same floor there were liturgical and there were non-liturgical Methodists ; there were those who use a liturgy and there were those who worship without, or according to the simplest, forms. These differences had been, in the past, fruitful sources of bitterness and strife ; of alienation and separation ; of bigotry and intolerance. Advocates of opposing views—though they had come together in a great Ecumenical Conference ; though they had greatly succeeded in burying the bitterness of past conflicts ; and though they had come to hail one another as brethren beloved of the same Lord, and fellow-heirs of a common Methodist heritage—yet they still retained much of

the old feeling which claims that rather "in Jerusalem" than "in this mountain" men should worship the Father. But when it was seen what God had wrought in all parts of the world through the people called Methodists—by whatever additional distinctive name they are known, and whatever their differences in Church polity—a profound respect for one another, and a great catholicity toward all, became the universal feeling. It was seen that God had been with all, and had blessed all—episcopal and non-episcopal—liturgical and non-liturgical. There, for instance, it was manifest that if God had greatly enlarged the Episcopal Methodisms of America, he had given to the non-Episcopal Methodisms of Great Britain more converts in heathen lands than he had given to all the Episcopal Methodisms in the world. There were we more clearly taught the meaning of the Master, when, at Jacob's Well, he announced to the woman of Samaria the culminating truth of inspiration: Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, and now is, when neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall men worship the Father. God is a Spirit: and the true worshipers are they—anywhere, every-where, and by whatever forms—who worship him in spirit and in truth. Into the truth and spirit of this no one had drank more freely or more deeply than John Wesley, the catholic founder of Methodism. No one, more fully than he, believed that no form of Church government or of Church service is prescribed, or proscribed, by the New Testament; and no one more fully than he was more liberal to those whose tastes and whose views of Church polity and methods of worship differed from his own. Many called by Wesley's name had not his catholicity. But at the Ecumenical Conference they drank deeper into the spirit which Wesley received from the Master. There we all were taught, as perhaps we were never taught before, that the harp of God sends forth the same divine strains, whether the delicate hands of Miriam or the manly hands of Israel's warrior king sweeps its responsive chords along; and that the true prophet of God stands confessed, whether he who speaks to us in the name and by the authority of God speaks to us arrayed in the splendid vestments of Aaron, the Lord's anointed high-priest, or in the royal robes of David, the Lord's anointed king; or whether he who thus speaks to us speaks to us wrapped in the humble

mantle of the Tishbite, or clad in the coarse raiment of camel's hair of the Baptist. Nor was this all. The various Methodisms represented on the floor of the Conference—more than ever before—were brought face to face, in the world's metropolis, with the other great evangelical Churches. We saw their work for the Master as we had never seen it; and what we saw gave to us a profounder respect for, and a greater catholicity toward, them and their work. And this respect and this catholicity, we are persuaded, were mutually and fully reciprocated. Never can Methodists forget how they were received and welcomed by other Christian Churches of Great Britain and Ireland. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, was the one confession of faith; to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, and endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, was the one purpose of all; and that to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ, was the one common acknowledgment.

And we were more convincingly taught by the Conference in what Methodist power consists, and to what Methodist success must be ascribed. Methodist power is not in outward things; it is not in Church polity, or in any prescribed formula of worship. In these we differed; and yet, as we have seen, we all have power; we all had success. This common power and this common success lay in our doctrines of free grace, in the similarity of our usages—the class-meeting and the love-feast—and in the oneness of our Christian experience. With marvelous unity all these had been preserved by Methodists all over the world. The success of Methodism was seen, not only in the millions that Methodist preaching and Methodist usages and Methodist living had added, under God, to Methodist Churches; but in the numbers which the same things had added to our sister evangelical Churches, and in the modifications which they had made in their doctrines, in their usages, and in their Christian experience. Every delegate came away from the Ecumenical Conference more fully determined to adhere, with tenacity and unwavering faith, to our doctrines as embodied in the sermons of John Wesley and the lyrics of Charles Wesley; to our class-meetings and love-feasts; and to

our common experience of a personal and conscious acceptance with God, confirmed and sanctioned by the witness of the Spirit. To preserve the unity and purity of Wesleyan Methodism as the best means, under God, of saving sinners and spreading scriptural holiness over all the earth, was the one and fixed resolve of each and all.

Nor was the Conference without results to Methodist unity in other regards. In England, Methodism is divided into various bodies, the most important of which are the Wesleyans, the New Connection Methodists, and the Primitive Methodists. The two Methodisms last named, as well as the first, are doing a great and noble work. The New Connection is adorned by two of the purest, noblest, and ablest Methodists in the world—the venerable William Cooke, D.D., of Forest Hill, London, and Thomas Austin Bullock, LL.D., of Manchester. The Primitive Methodists, who are more like our American Methodists than any other Methodist body in England, are especially engaged in preaching the Gospel to the poor. The causes which gave rise to these two Methodisms are well known to the student of English Methodist history. Not long after Mr. Wesley's death, a party arose in the Wesleyan Conference demanding lay ordination. This was refused by the majority, who still depended for the sacraments upon the parish priests of the Church of England. Those who claimed lay ordination for themselves pleaded that Mr. Wesley had ordained lay preachers for America and Scotland; that what he had a right to do as a presbyter other presbyters had an equal right to do; that this Mr. Wesley himself fully admitted when he came to regard apostolic succession as a mere figment, and of no scriptural authority whatever. In a word, when the Conference refused, they who demanded lay ordination withdrew and set up for themselves. The Methodist New Connection was the result. The camp-meeting, and—passing strange—preaching in market-places and on the highways, was the cause of another separation from the Wesleyan body. The result was the Primitive Methodists. But that which caused the widest divergence between them and the parent body was the adoption of lay representation by the seceding Churches.

But, in process of time, the Wesleyans ordained lay preachers for themselves; and at Bradford, in 1878, they admitted lay

representation into the Conference. And thus have the chief causes of difference been providentially removed. These causes removed, there is no good reason why the three bodies should not be organically one. And this will be accomplished when the Wesleyans, for the common good, are unselfish enough to divide endowments and incomes with their poorer brethren. Upon organic union between them the Ecumenical Conference exerted a strong and persuasive influence. At all events, as one of the blessed results of the Conference, if organic union does not follow, unquestionably there will be a truer and warmer fraternity, and a more cordial co-operation. We have seen signs which lead us to hope that the former will be the result at no very distant day. Calls, we hope, similar to that which was made soon after the Ecumenical Conference adjourned, for the various British Methodisms to meet at Birmingham to consider the question of a more perfect union, will be repeated, until, as the English Wesleyans and the Irish Wesleyans were lately united, all the Methodisms of Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably joined in one body.

And what we pray—what we anticipate—for British Methodists, we hope may be the result of the Ecumenical Conference to the Methodisms of the Canadas and to the Methodisms of the United States. Here, too, in America, causes which divided Methodism have been providentially put out of the way. In this we greatly rejoice, and hail it as the harbinger of more united and fraternal Methodisms in the Canadas and in the States of the American Union.

But we must not conclude this paper without a passing reference to the colored brethren who, in the Ecumenical Conference, represented their respective Churches in America. Every eye-witness will testify to the perfect harmony which was manifest between them and the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It is with gratitude that, as one of the delegates of the latter Church, the writer can bear witness to the courteous and manly acknowledgment of their indebtedness to the ministers and laymen of that Church for the Christian experience and culture which their race, in the Southern States of the United States, possessed before the late fratricidal war. In an estimate of the results of the Ecumenical Conference the impartial historian of our future Methodism

will truthfully record that among those results none, perhaps, were more important than the meeting of representative colored Methodists and representative white Southern Methodists from America in City Road Chapel, and the mutual respect and confidence which that meeting produced. We returned home from the pilgrimage to our common Mecca mutually resolved to work side by side in Southern fields for the elevation of both races, and the advancement of our common country.

And now, as the last result of the Conference which we mention, we add that we all returned to our respective Methodisms baptized anew with the Spirit of Wesley's Master and ours, and more than ever persuaded of the possibilities of Methodism. Nor was this persuasion diminished by the fact that Methodism is to-day increasing in many parts of the world—the Old and the New—in a greater ratio than at any period of its history. But the rather were we persuaded that, if Methodism be true to its great mission, before the first sun of the next century shall have arisen from his nightly bath in the waters of Oceanus, Methodism will have become the most prevalent Protestant religion of the world, and will have fully pervaded all its sister evangelical Churches with the spirit of John Wesley and the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century.

ART. IV.—JOHN KEBLE AND THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.

A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, M.A., late Vicar of Hursley. By the Right Honorable Sir J. T. COLERIDGE, D.C.L.

Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

The Oxford Counter-Reformation. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, A.M., in his "Short Studies on Great Subjects."

Keble. By Professor J. C. SHAIRP, in "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy."

MR. MOZLEY's gossipy "Reminiscences" of the Oxford Movement, and Mr. Froude's "Essay," have somewhat revived public interest in the distinguished writers known as "Tractarians," whose famous tracts shook the Church of England from center to circumference some fifty years ago. It has, therefore, occurred to the writer that a brief *résumé* of the events connected

with the origin and results of that movement, interwoven with a study of the life and character of one of its leaders, might not be without interest to the readers of the Quarterly.

Among the original Tractarians there was no one of them more highly esteemed than JOHN KEBLE, the author of those sacred lyrics known as "The Christian Year." Mozley pronounces him "a glory to the college," (Oriel;) "a comfort, and a stay." Of his surprisingly popular work the "Encyclopedia Britannica" says: "It contributed *equally* with the 'Tracts for the Times' to the success of the Anglo-Catholic reaction in the Church of England. In those pensive, dreamy, soothing strains we have the logic of the Oxford schools turned into rhetoric. The academic cloister and the Gothic aisle are the 'haunt and main region' of his song. The white Levitical vestment is his singing-robe, and you listen in the dim religious light to a music like the lulling chime of church bells."

The precise relations between great political and religious movements and their various causes are not easily ascertained. Hence it may be that Keble's "Christian Year" contributed *equally* with the "Tracts for the Times" to the power of the Tractarian agitation. The affirmation is easily made, but where is the proof? The churchly character of its poems does not prove it, since the church, from its altar and priestly vestments to its very floors, is, still more emphatically, the "haunt and main region" of holy George Herbert's song. Yet his influence was, and is, almost exclusively spiritual. The same may be safely affirmed of "The Christian Year" and its influence. It is, doubtless, true that its sad and mediæval tone, and its occasional and sympathetic allusions to Sacramentalist dogmas, made it a special favorite with the Oxford agitators when they began their movement, five years after its publication. But, long before their appearance as agitators, its poetical merits and its value as a help to the culture of the spiritual life had won for "The Christian Year" a warm place, not only in the regards of High-Churchmen, but also in the affections of spiritually-minded Low-Churchmen and Dissenters. It may, indeed, be fairly questioned whether any man not predisposed by his political and ecclesiastical principles was ever made a Tractarian by the study of that book. As we shall presently see, it was not aimed at any such result.

There is an idyllic beauty, not only in the lives, but also in the material surroundings of many ministers in the rural parishes of England. There are, no doubt, numerous hard, disagreeable, poverty-stricken parishes; but ideal ones are scattered in secluded vales all over that highly-favored island. These latter have their ancient church, with the village dead of many generations quietly sleeping around it in the shade of solemn yew-trees. Near by stands the moss-covered parsonage, with its ample lawn in front and its well-cultivated garden behind. Not far off is the parish school, the village street, and, in the distance, the mansions and parks of the neighboring gentry. On all sides, a charming landscape, undulating, green as emerald, fruitful, and watered by babbling streams, fills the observant eye with images which awaken feelings of pure delight. The rector, or vicar, if true to his vocation, which, alas! is not always the case, is treated by both rich and poor with the reverential respect due to a pastor, and is loved by many with the affection due from children to a father. Within such parsonages there is usually abundance, sometimes wealth, the amenities of high intellectual culture, and the still more graceful affectionateness which is the outgrowth of Christian faith. Happy, indeed, is the truly spiritual pastor whose lot is cast in such a home!

It was John Keble's fortune to spend his early life in the "sacred seclusion" of such a home. His father was Vicar of Coln, St. Aldwin's, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire. The poet was born at the latter place in 1792, and was educated by his scholarly and pious father so effectually that when he was only fourteen years and eight months old he was elected scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. No anecdotes of his boyhood were preserved, except the fact that his devotion to study was so voluntary and self-regulated that his father safely left him free to choose his own hours for getting his lessons. It is also said that one of his godfathers, who knew him intimately, designated him by the title of "John the Good." Hence, both intellectually and morally, "the child was father of the man."

Corpus Christi was a small college, seldom having more than twenty pupils, some of whom were resident Bachelor students. Most of its few undergraduates were, like Keble, mere boys. Their habits were inexpensive, temperate, and studious. Their

tutors were gentlemen in manners, accurate scholars, and judicious in their methods of teaching. Keble's tutor, Mr. Darnell, was a man of excellent taste, "one of the ornaments of Oxford," and admirably fitted to develop the mind and character of this shy, home-bred, home-loving, affectionate lad. Under his tuition Keble made a good record in college; albeit, though he wrote for several prizes during his undergraduateship, he was never successful. Two causes, possibly three, may be assigned for these failures: his extreme youth, his lack of public-school training, and chiefly his distraction of mind caused by the preparations necessary to his intention to try for the "first class both in classics and mathematics." In this great effort he was successful, and, in 1810, was placed in both first classes, a distinction which, up to that time, no one had earned but Sir Robert Peel. It was a great intellectual triumph for a lad of eighteen; and it led to his election, the following year, as a Probationer Fellow at Oriel College.

The development of Keble's character was greatly aided by the friendships he formed at Corpus Christi. Three of these were especially intimate, and were life lasting. These three friends—Miller, Cornish, and Dyson—were remarkable for intellectual quickness, simplicity of character, refined tastes, and warm affections. Cornish, like Keble, was reserved and shy, yet genial and humorous when in the company of his chosen associates. All of them resembled Keble in their indifference to Church honors and preferments, except so far as they might offer them fields for usefulness. These sweet and precious college friendships Keble embalmed in the following extract from a short poem he wrote on quitting the delightful associations of Corpus Christi :

"Seat of calm delights, farewell!
Home of my muse, and of my friends! I ne'er
Shall see thee, but with such a gush of soul
As flows from him who welcomes some dear face
Lost in his childhood—yet not lost to me
Art thou; for still my heart exults to own thee,
And memory still, and friendship, make thee mine."

At Oriel, in 1812, Keble won two Bachelors' prizes: an unprecedented honor, achieved only twice since. The next year he was appointed examining master. In 1815 he was ordained deacon. The following year the same bishop, Jackson,

ordained him priest. It does not clearly appear that he entered this high vocation because he was especially moved thereto by the Holy Ghost; neither did he aspire to it for low, mercenary ends. To his mind it appeared as a grand sphere of usefulness, which he entered with visions of brilliant results, "inasmuch," he writes, "as the salvation of one soul is worth more than the framing the Magna Charta of a thousand worlds. . . . Can there be, even among the angels, a higher privilege, that we can form an idea of, than the power of contributing to the everlasting happiness of our neighbor?"

He does not disavow the presence of ambition among his motives for entering the clerical office. "On the contrary," he writes, "I have a great deal of ambition—too much, I think, for my profession; . . . but I think I see clearly that, as a motive to my clerical exertions, it is either wrong in itself or liable every moment to become so, and therefore I am sure I ought to keep it down as much as possible."

This is the language of a man sincerely desirous of thoroughly knowing himself, and of entering on the duties of his high office in a spirit corresponding to its spiritual dignity. He quickly demonstrated his sincerity by the manner in which he applied himself to the duties of two small curacies which he accepted immediately after his ordination as deacon. A resident near one of his churches told his biographer that after he began his work a great change took place in the village; he commenced a Sunday-school; the church was well filled. A sturdy Baptist attended, stating as a reason that he there heard the Gospel. And this resident adds, "I have myself much reason to be thankful for Mr. Keble's ministrations. Mr. Keble was outside the church what he was in it."

Early in 1818 Keble entered upon the duties of a tutor at Oriel, to which he had been appointed the preceding autumn. He had some scruples at first with respect to this exchange of parish for academic work. But he quieted them on the ground that tuition is "a species of pastoral care," and his affectionate fidelity to the religious, as well as to the intellectual, life of his pupils showed that this was no mere opiate administered to his conscience, but a valid justification of his action. Oriel, in Keble's time, had a corps of tutors equal, if not superior, to any college of the university; and Keble soon

won a high reputation among them, not for scholarship merely, but also for success in teaching, and for binding his pupils to him with the ties both of respect and of affection. In his class he is described by Mozley as a man with a beautifully formed head and wonderfully black eyes, dropping diamonds and pearls from his mouth. The impression his pure character made on the members of his college, and in the university generally, is illustrated by an incident related by Dr. Newman, who says, that as he was walking with a friend one day in High Street, Oxford, his companion startled him by eagerly crying out, "There's Keble!" Then, remarks Newman, "with what awe did I look at him!"

Newman's awe of Keble's character was not an evanescent, but an enduring, feeling. It showed itself some years later when Newman himself was elected to an Oriel Fellowship, and went to receive the congratulations of all the Fellows. "I bore it," said the future Cardinal, "till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honor done me, that I seemed quite desirous of sinking into the ground. His had been the first name I had heard spoken of with reverence, rather than admiration, when I came up to Oxford." These spontaneous tributes paid to the youthful tutor by Newman were rendered, not by him alone, but in a measure by all in the university who knew Keble. His scholarly attainments, his courteous, gentle manners, his unaffected humility, his affectionate spirit, and his manifestly sincere piety, were the qualities which commanded this reverential regard.

After nearly five years' service as tutor at Oriel, Keble, influenced by his high sense of filial duty, resigned his tutorship and returned to his beloved curacies, which had been served partly by his brother and partly by himself during his residence at Oxford. The death of his mother and the illness of his sisters had made him desirous of living near his venerable father's parish. The income from his small curacies, now increased to three, was only about \$500 per annum. His rising reputation might have procured him a richer living. He was, in fact, offered an Archdeaconship in the West Indies with a salary of \$10,000 a year; but preferred obedience to the impulses of filial love to any increase of income or Church preferment purchased at the price of residence at so great a distance

from his father's parish. And when, under the oppression caused by the death of one of his two sisters, his father's health was impaired in 1827, he became his curate, lived in his parsonage, performed his official duties, and did all that devoted affection could do to smooth the venerable vicar's pathway to the grave.

During his tutorship at Oriel, and probably before, Keble had wrought as he found opportunities on the poems which make up his "Christian Year," a work which was destined, contrary to his expectations, to secure him national celebrity, and, in fact, to make his name a household word, not only among Churchmen, for whose use it was designed, but also in unnumbered homes outside the limit of his own Church, wherever the English language is spoken. His biographer, Sir J. T. Coleridge, shows, on Keble's own authority, that it was the poet's original intention to keep "The Christian Year" in manuscript during his life-time, after the example of George Herbert, who, instead of publishing his "Temple," left it to be given to the public subsequently to his death, or to be committed to the flames, as his friend and executor, Nicholas Ferrar, might determine. Keble's purpose arose, in part, out of the modest estimate he placed upon its merits; but chiefly out of his apprehension that it might lead men to overestimate his piety. He had written its poems as, according to his "Praelections on Poetry," all who are not mere poetic artists, but born poets, must write—"because they could not help it." They expressed his own "eager feelings" which struggled within him to find vent. They were "a melody in his heart which would out, a fire in his blood which would not be suppressed." Hence he put his emotions into metrical forms which both satisfied their craving for outward expression, and "served as a veil to draw over them. For the utterance of high and tender feeling, controlled and modified by a certain reserve, is the very soul of poetry." Conscious, therefore, that his poems were not hymns fitted for public worship, but poetical meditations which were the utterances of his own inner life, he feared that the Christian public, on discovering this fact, "would, incorrectly, attribute to him a degree of saintliness far higher than he actually possessed." From such a judgment his pure, truthful, humble nature instinctively shrank;

and to prevent it, at least during his life-time, he proposed that, if published at all, "The Christian Year" should appear as a posthumous work. His most confidential friends advised otherwise. His aged father, very naturally, desired to see it in print before he died. Yielding to these urgent persuasions, Keble finally consented to give his work to the public in 1827, but without his name. Hence it made its first appearance in the world as an anonymous publication.

Its success was immediate and eminently satisfactory both to Keble and to the small number of his friends who knew that he was its author. Though intended to be a companion to the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and, in that particular, especially adapted to the needs of devout members of that denomination, yet its harmony with universal Christian experience; its calm earnestness, its transparent sincerity, its sad yet hopeful tone, its unpretentious yet authoritative spirit, its urgent, scriptural appeals to that religious, not to say devotional, sentiment which even an evil life cannot completely expel from the human heart, commended it at once to the spiritually-minded of all sects and parties. Almost every such person who read it felt moved by it to cultivate stronger Christian feeling, to look above himself, to cherish a personal, reverential, obedient love to his Creator and Redeemer. And men of mere literary culture, who were indifferent to its religious element, admired it, not as faultless poetry of the very highest intellectual order, which it is not, but as a series of poems abounding in lines of exquisite sweetness, tenderness, and beauty, in descriptions of natural scenery often not unworthy of Wordsworth himself, and in such high poetic expressions as are the pure coinage, not of a capricious fancy, but of an imagination so exalted and penetrative as to perceive, with exceptional clearness, the analogies which really exist "between nature and spirit." These high qualities, despite its undeniable faults, sufficiently account for its sale to the number of 108,000 copies in twenty-six years immediately succeeding its publication; and for the hold it still retains, as a book of devotional poetry, on multitudes of devout minds.

Keble's intimate friends were very naturally quite profuse in their congratulations on the remarkable popularity of his book. But his sensitive mind shrunk from praise, lest it should

minister to the growth of vanity. To this fear he gave expression in his "*Lyra Innocentium*," saying,

"And ah! to him what tenfold woe,
Who hides so well his sin,
Through earth he seems a saint to go,
Yet dies impure within."

And in replying to a letter from his very dear friend, Dyson, he says of certain expressions praising his filial devotion to his deceased mother, "They please me so well at first that I am quite sure they are best not thrown in my way. I beg it of you as kindness to forbear." There is a beautiful, even saintly, sensibility to spiritual danger in this protest and in those lines. Possibly they indicate morbid feeling; yet what Christian who knows his own heart can refuse to admire the profound humility which was the root on which they grew?

The student of "*The Christian Year*," in whose mind Keble stands as a leader of the Tractarian movement, is surprised to find so little of the peculiar Tractarian teaching in these poems. He finds their ecclesiastical titles, borrowed from the "*Calender*," to be little more than designations, often very awkward and inappropriate, of the order in which they stand. He finds the dogmas of the Sacramentalists occasionally implied, but seldom strongly expressed, never sustained by proofs or arguments. Any Churchman, never dreaming of active sympathy with the Oxford agitators, might, if sufficiently gifted, have written most of these poems. So far as Tractarians were imbued with a deeper spiritual earnestness than was then prevalent among Churchmen, they could find nourishment in these poems, but in no greater degree than the Evangelicals and Dissenters. It was possible, as Dr. Shairp reasons, that the spirit, the devout feeling, the respect for authority and for antiquity, and the repugnance to heresy characteristic of "*The Christian Year*," might, when "confronted with opposing tendencies and forced into a dogmatic attitude, find true expression in the Tractarian theory." But inasmuch as this work was written without foresight of that movement, and six years before it originated, the professor concludes that it "cannot be regarded as in any way" the parent of that well-meant, but, in some of its results, unfortunate, agitation which had its parentage, not from this book, but from certain parliamentary

measures of reform, as we shall presently see. Hence, a candid critic of "The Christian Year" will not associate it very decidedly with Tractarianism, but will judge it by asking, What did Keble seek to accomplish by it? and Is his work skillfully adapted to his purpose? The first question is answered by the author in his prefatory note, wherein he candidly tells the world that he wished to present "a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion as exemplified in the Prayer Book." To the second question its immediate and continued popularity is an affirmative reply; and even to-day every devout reader finds this popular verdict sustained by its influence "chiming in his heart like church bells."

Keble's authorship of "The Christian Year" did not long remain a secret. When it became publicly known he found himself a celebrity. The doors of Church preferment were then thrown open to him. One of his Oriel friends offered him the vicarage of Hursley. The Bishop of Exeter, regarding him as the most eminently good man in the Church, offered him the valuable living of Paington, in Devonshire. He declined both; not because he either despised or did not need their emoluments, but because the intensity and breadth of his filial affection still bound him, as with silken bonds, to Fairford, where he could best perform what he esteemed the sacred duty of caring for his venerable father. But, in 1831, he accepted the chair of the Poetry Professorship at Oxford, which did not compel him to quit his paternal home except at intervals. By his admirable lectures from that chair he both honored the university and increased the brilliancy of his own literary reputation.

We have now reached the period of Keble's connection with the famous Tractarian movement, which was intimately related to the political agitations that terminated in the passage of the Reform Bill extending the elective franchise, in the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and in the suppression of ten Irish Protestant bishoprics in 1833. All these measures, especially the latter two, were very obnoxious to the dons and students at Oxford, who were mostly Tories, and many of whom looked upon the ruling Whigs of the day as "the forerunners of Antichrist." Keble was very deeply moved by the suppression of the bishoprics; and being appointed to preach the Summer Assize

Sermon at Oxford, in 1833, he gave utterance to his grief and to his alarm for the Church in a discourse which he subsequently published with the title of "National Apostasy." Dr. Newman says, in his "Apologia," that he has ever considered and kept the day of the publication of that sermon as the start of the religious movement of 1833. It would be folly to impeach this statement of one so intimately acquainted with the origin of the agitation of which he soon became the recognized leader. We must, therefore, concur with the opinion of Sir J. T. Coleridge in regarding John Keble as its true and primary author.

John Keble's sermon could not have become the germ of an excitement which made the Church of England rock to and fro like a fabric shaken by an earthquake but for the disturbed state of the public mind and the sad spiritual condition of that Church. She had been blind to the great opportunity to renew her spiritual life, and to gain an imperishable hold on the middle and poorer classes, offered her when John Wesley stirred the heart of England. That great man's love for the Church inclined him to turn the spiritual tides which flowed through his influence into channels adapted to raise her into a genuinely reformed Church. But she rejected him, and he created Methodism. That rejection on her part was followed by the growth of a formalism that threatened to reduce her to the condition of the Church in Sardis when the divine Head of the Church said to her, "Thou hast a name that thoulivest, and art dead." True, there were a faithful few among her clergy known as Evangelicals, who had caught the spirit of Methodism, of Leigh Richmond, of Cecil, of Newton, etc., and who toiled as earnestly for souls as the prevailing formalism in Episcopalian circles would permit. But these men held very liberal ecclesiastical theories, which were offensive to men of High-Church proclivities, who regarded them, not as friends, but as enemies of the Church. Froude illustrates their estimate of such with the fact, that in his brother's family the evangelical clergy were spoken of as "fellows who turned up the whites of their eyes and said, 'Lawd.'" Hence, when a few men at Oxford, like Keble, Newman, Hurrell Froude, Pusey, Rose, Palmer, etc., turned their attention to the prevailing condition of the National Church, and noted her general contemptuous indifference to the spiritual side of religion, the growth of

outspoken unbelief, and particularly the increasing irreverence for Church forms, and the rise of a disposition to favor the disestablishment of the Church, they began to look upon the Established Church as "a ship in danger of being scuttled and sunk" under the "combined attacks of liberal unbelievers, rationalists, Dissenters of every variety, and parties and schools in the Church who also had their future." To ward off this threatening catastrophe they thought it "necessary to believe more," to aim at giving the Church "a more catholic form and manner;" in a word, while retaining her general forms, to introduce into her life what Keble called "primitive notions regarding apostolical succession," etc. The *et cetera* contained, either germinally or in process of active development, their Sacramentalism, their priestly conception of the ministerial office, the confessional, absolution, the mass, symbolical vestments, and, in the cases of Newman, a few of his personal disciples, and a small band of somewhat noted clergymen, departure into the Papal Church. These, with the claim, asserted in an address of Tractarian laymen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the paramount duty of a Christian people," were the dogmas which, if made dominant in the Church, would clothe her in robes of beauty, make her "comely as Jerusalem," "and terrible as an army with banners."

Keble's relation to the Tractarian agitation now became that of an active promoter of the movement. He followed up his Assize Sermon with a proposition to form an association to promote the circulation of the notions aforesaid, by means of tracts. This proposal he urged on his personal friends, both by correspondence and conversation. The result was, that the Rev. W. Palmer and Hurrell Froude, meeting in the Common Room of Oriel, resolved to form such an association. This resolution they communicated to Keble, Rose, and Percival. Newman was not in England at the time, and was not present, therefore, at the first meeting of these friends, at Hadleigh, in 1833. Other conferences were held at Oriel shortly after, at which Newman was present. The first result of these interviews was a circular sent to all parts of England, in the autumn of that year, defining the objects of a proposed association to "maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and

the discipline of the Church . . . and to afford Churchmen an opportunity . . . of co-operating together on a large scale."

The excited state of the popular mind at that critical period is made obvious by the fact that, in the following February, seven thousand clergymen signed an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, pledging their support to the primate in carrying into effect such reforms as would "tend to revive the discipline of ancient times." In still more forcible terms 250,000 lay heads of families also addressed the archbishop, declaring their adherence to the sentiments of the clerical address. Both these addresses were counterblasts from the Church, called forth, not by the circular alone, but chiefly by the hostility of High-Churchmen to those Parliamentary measures which had made Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Churchmen political equals.

The tracts, so famous for a time, but now lost in the limbo of oblivion, were already in the field. Only four of the ninety which ultimately composed the series are attributed to Keble by his biographer. Both he and his associates wrote as their individual tastes and judgments suggested, without mutual supervision or restraint. After originating the movement, Keble naturally yielded its leadership to the more acute and practical mind of his friend Newman. Nature had not endowed him with the qualities necessary to leadership. He was too shy, too much in love with seclusion, too fond of living, as Mozley puts it, "in a calm, sweet atmosphere of his own;" too lacking in power to debate with men who held opinions opposite to his own. Mozley says: "He very soon lost his temper in discussion; . . . there was really no getting on with Keble without entire agreement, that is, submission." Besides these constitutional disqualifications, he was intellectually unfitted to guide a great practical movement. Froude says, not unjustly, that "he was not far-seeing; his mind moved in the groove of a single order of ideas. He could not place himself in the position of persons who disagreed with him, and thus he could not see the strong points of their arguments. . . . Circumstances independent of himself could alone have raised him into a leader of a party. For the more delicate functions of such an office he was constitutionally unfit."

On the other hand, Newman was a born leader of men.

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Despite the vagueness of his ideas, his acknowledged indisposition to the textual study of Holy Writ, his conceit that every event, good or ill, was a special voice from Providence calling him to action, and his fanatical belief that all his public movements, including his renunciation of Protestantism and connection with the Papal Church, were directed by "special inspiration," he had many great qualities. He was an original thinker, an observer of men, an omnivorous reader, and his mind ranged over every field of thought. He was gifted with a wonderfully impressive personality. His belief in his theological creed was so real that none who heard him could either doubt his sincerity, or his indifference to the good or evil consequences which might come to him because of his utterances. In fact, he thought and spoke like one who neither knew nor cared whither his creed might lead him. Hence both his writings and preaching "pierced into the heart and mind, and there remained." Add to these qualities an uncommon degree of gentleness, and a power to always say something real and worth thinking of in conversation, and it is easy to see why this remarkable man, and not John Keble who started the movement, soon became its acknowledged leader. Had the poet stood at its helm, it would not have developed its tendency toward Romanism so quickly as it did under Newman's direction, because the poet, unlike Newman, was governed more by his intuitions and feelings than by the logic of principles. Nevertheless, the principles of the High-Church party do logically lead to Rome; but whether that party, influenced by worldly considerations and national traditions, will ignore, as Keble did, the logic of its principles and be content with the Church of England deformed into an image of Rome without its pope, or whether it will finally secede to Rome itself, it were folly to predict.

Keble's father died in 1835. This event was followed by his acceptance, a few months later, of the living of Hursley, and by his marriage. The quiet of this desirable parish and its pastoral duties delighted him. His hours of leisure he spent in working on the "Library of the Fathers," then in course of publication at the Tractarian press. But this delicious quiet was disturbed, in 1841, by the publication of Tract No. 90, written by his friend Newman. This famous tract fell like a bomb on

the National Church. Its explosion shook the Church and alarmed the nation. Its purpose was to show that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were not opposed to those dogmas and practices of the Roman Catholic Church which English Protestantism had long ago discarded; but which the High-Church party was trying to revive within its pale. "It was written," says Froude, that its author "might see whether the Church of England would tolerate Catholic doctrine." Its arguments were not easy to answer, since those articles were originally molded with a design to make the bridge from Romanism to Protestantism wide enough to permit all, except the most conscientious and bigoted Romanists, to cross from the one to the other. The wide-spread, violent storm which arose was England's reply to Newman's problem. It told him she would not as yet tolerate a Romanized Established Church. Oxford, notwithstanding the great influence of the Tractarians in her colleges, gave voice to that response by publicly censuring the tract.

Keble acted a manly part during this excitement. He had read and approved the tract before it was printed. This prior approval, instead of concealing, as he might, he openly avowed, as did his friend Pusey also. These men did nobly when they volunteered to share its odium with its author. Four years later, Newman, faithful to its principles, went over to the Papal Church, claiming that he "had reached a strong intellectual conviction that the Roman Catholic system and Christianity were convertible terms," and that his "submission of mind and heart to Rome" was given him by special revelation, and that he found in her infallible doctrinal authority a repose of faith he could not otherwise attain. Was Keble inconsistent or cowardly when he refused to follow his friend and leader to Rome? Neither. He believed in the dogmas of Newman's tract, consequently he wished to introduce certain Papal usages into the English Church, not however to lead her back to the Roman Church, but to practices which he had persuaded himself were sanctioned by the ancient Roman Church before her division into the Eastern and Western Churches. Keble had misled himself by using the writings of the early Fathers as the lights by which he studied the primitive Church. Had he viewed her in the clear light of Scripture, he would have been,

not a High, but an Evangelical, Churchman, as his deeply devout nature fitted him to be. But though thus misled, he would not go to Rome, because she had corrupted herself. Newman's going thither "was the sorrow of his life." Yet, with strange inconsistency, he would have the Establishment become as much like Rome as possible, minus her corruption and her pope. How singular was that blindness which prevented such good and great men as Keble and his associates from seeing that it was not until the ancient Church permitted her ministry to claim apostolical and sacerdotal authority that she lost her true life. That claim was the germ of Roman Catholicism.

Of the final outcome of the Oxford movement, who can say what it will be? Concerning what it has accomplished, Mr. Mozley says: "Upon the whole, the movement must be credited with the increased interest in divine things, the more reverential regard for sacred persons and places, and the freedom from mere traditional interpretation, which mark the present century in comparison with the last. The Oxford movement, unforeseen by the chief movers, and, to some extent, in spite of them, has produced a generation of ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priestcrafts, it has filled the land with Churchcrafts of all kinds. Has it not had some share in the restoration of biblical criticism, and in the Revision of the Authorized Version?"

These are mixed results, partly good, partly bad. Mr. Froude sees less good and more evil in its fruits than Mr. Mozley. In his view, though Newman's secession was not an immediate success in carrying many immediately over to Rome, yet the movement sowed seed which is still growing, not in the middle and lower classes, but "among people who have money enough to live upon and nothing to do." It has made Romanism a proselyting power among the upper classes, and has contributed largely to its political influence. In the Church itself it has fostered sacerdotalism, sapped Protestantism, weakened her as a political power in the realm, robbed her clergy of influence over public opinion, and encouraged the growth of doubt in the supernatural among the great body of the people. In "a ritualist English Church" Froude sees a Church "as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman angurs over the Rome of

Cicero and Caesar." Nevertheless, he is confident that "the great body of the English people, which is Protestant at heart, will never allow" the pretensions of those Romanizing Ritualists, though it may be a long time before they will find a way to suppress them.

This is, in truth, a gloomy enough outlook. But is there not a ray of light shining through the confusion caused by the clashing of Church parties, in the rising demand of large numbers of the people for disestablishment? As a spiritual body, able to provide for the religious needs of the English nation, the National Church is and always has been a failure; albeit it has produced many mighty men and achieved not a little good. Nevertheless, it has never covered the national religious need; and it never will. Its Ritualists are working on false principles, which must in the end breed corruption. Its Broad-Churchmen, though highly cultivated and intellectually strong, are more likely to lead it into a proud, profitless skepticism than to make it a mighty spiritual force. Its Evangelicals are apparently too few and feeble to reform it. Yet they, with the Dissenters, are the hope of England; and, in case of disestablishment, would probably join hands with them, sympathetically if not organically, in efforts to hold the middle and lower aristocratic classes, which contain the heart of England, true to the faith of the Gospel. Hence the growing idea of disestablishment appears as a rainbow giving promise to the reflective mind of brighter days to the Christianity of the British Isles.

After Newman's secession Keble devoted himself very closely to his parish duties, which he fondly loved; to the completion and publication of his "*Lyra Innocentium*; or, Thoughts in Verse on the Sayings and Doings of Little Children," and to writing the "*Life of Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man*," which was published in 1863. His further labors in behalf of the Tractarians were chiefly epistolary. He was constantly consulted by the more active workers among them, and much of his time was given to such correspondence. His "*Lyra Innocentium*," which was *about*, not *for*, children, gave such marked prominence to his High-Church opinions, that it failed to find general acceptance. In poetical merit it was far below "*The Christian Year*;" albeit his biographer claims that, if not equal to that successful work "as a whole, it is at least more

than equal in some parts, and, on the whole, worthy of its author." Professor Shairp pronounces a few of its poems fine lyrics, equal perhaps to most in "The Christian Year," but attributes its failure to "strike home to the universal heart" partly to its High-Church tone, and partly to the probable fact "that the fountain of inspiration did not flow so fully as in earlier years."

His "Life of Bishop Wilson," though exhaustive of every thing touching that good man's life, and highly esteemed for its many excellences, was yet never popular. Like many other biographies it was too lengthy, and Mr. Coleridge regrets that Keble, in preparing it, did not make old Izaak Walton's spicy biographies of Herbert, Donne, etc., his models.

The latter part of Keble's life was somewhat shadowed by the frequent sicknesses of his admirable wife and by his own ill health. Hence both his parish and literary work were often interrupted by brief tours in search of health. At last, on March 29, 1866, his earthly tasks were ended, and his spirit passed into the unseen world, after bequeathing to posterity an example, not indeed of a life free from serious mistakes, but of "singular piety, of inflexible integrity, and entire indifference to what is called fame or worldly advantages."

Besides the writings already mentioned, Keble was the author of a "Metrical Version of the Psalms" and the editor of what many Churchmen esteem as the best edition of Richard Hooker's works. But his literary fame reposes not so much on any or all of his other writings, as on his "Christian Year." Mr. Froude, while conceding that this work "will always hold a high place in religious poetry," contends that it owes its extraordinary popularity to temporary and accidental circumstances, and that because it is utterly lacking in insight into the complicated problems of humanity, "and is not in sympathy with the passions which are the pulses of human life," its rhymes will not "outlive the pyramids. The qualities which have given them their immediate influence will equally forbid their immortality."

Opposed to the somewhat self-contradictory judgment of this incisive critic stands that of the acute and broad-minded Professor Shairp. He discerns, as every unbiased Christian must, that "The Christian Year" did not gain its first popularity

because Keble voiced Sacramentalism in its poems, as Froude, with only partial correctness, assumes; but because it expressed hopes and fears, joys and griefs, desires and aspirations, which are the pulses of the Christian life in universal humanity, and therefore, the professor says, "it may be expected to live on, if not in so wonderful esteem, yet widely read and deeply felt, for it makes its appeal to no temporary or accidental feelings, but mainly to that which is permanent in man. It can hardly be that it should lose its hold on the affections of English-speaking men as long as Christianity retains" its hold upon them. It is because "The Christian Year" has succeeded in conveying to the outer world some effluence of that character which his intimate friends loved and revered in Keble that, as Shairp believes, "it will not cease to hold a quite peculiar place in the affections of posterity."



ART. V.—THE WESLEYAN CONDITION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP—ITS MODIFICATIONS.

THE occasion has arisen for a review of the Wesleyan condition of Church membership, and a survey of the present terms and conditions upon which persons attain to membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In the January (1882) number of the "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review," Rev. D. C. Kelley, D.D., in an article of general excellence on the question of "Fraternity," offers, as one reason why the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not one with the Methodist Episcopal Church:

That the addition of two questions and answers to those proposed as candidates for Church membership, in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has so changed the Church from the basis on which Christ placed it, and Mr. Wesley left it, that we find a necessity for separate existence, that we may retain the marks of a New Testament Church. The condition of admission, as we understand the New Testament, is "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." The form of reception in the Methodist Episcopal Church demands of the penitent that he shall already have a *consciousness* of pardon; and further, that he shall declare that he believes in the doctrines

of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We teach these as *duties*, but refuse to place them as conditions at the threshold of the Church—following thereby Christ and Wesley.

Again :

When we elect to defend our separate existence on the ground of vital doctrinal difference in the matter of reception into the Church, we stand on ground which is not only every way solid, but deal with a question which, in the future movements of Christianity, must become daily more a living and momentous issue.

There are other sentences in Dr. Kelley's article of a similar import, some of them containing stronger language, but these are sufficient to clearly indicate his position. It is remarkable that a writer so clear-headed and broad-minded as Dr. Kelley appears to be, after uttering sentiments of large liberality, and bravely protesting against the narrow spirit which, on the old issues, "regards one party as *always right*, and the other *always wrong*," should allow himself to take a precisely similar stand regarding the present doctrinal attitude of the two Churches. In his vigorous efforts to lead the liberal South into still greater liberality, we most heartily wish him Godspeed, and we believe that the standard which he and some of his brethren have so courageously set up will have a triumphant following in the "New South" not far hence; but at the same time we must demur to such a statement of the present ecclesiastical issue, as not only admits of a boast of Southern Methodist conservatism of right, but sharply charges the Methodist Episcopal Church with gross misapplication of a fundamental Scripture doctrine, and the utter perversion of a vital Wesleyan principle.

Dr. Kelley's understanding of the New Testament Church may be correct, and it may be decidedly incorrect. It is easy to make confident assertions respecting a particular rule of discipline among the apostles, but not easy to substantiate them by satisfactory evidence. There are points of order wherein nearly all denominations of Christendom differ, at the same time each one of them holding its own custom to be apostolical. That saving faith, as well as evangelical repentance, was a requisite of admission to membership in the New Testament Church, and that this condition was not ignored or discarded by Mr. Wesley, is our thorough conviction, though in support of it only a few considerations can here be presented. It is not

to be supposed that either Christ or his apostles practiced, held, or taught laxity of principle as to the examination of the moral and Christian character of those proposing to enter the holy communion of the visible Church. We know that proselytes to the Jewish faith were thoroughly proved and instructed prior to formal admission, and it is evident that the early Christian Church exercised a similar care.

"None in those days," Lord King says, "were hastily advanced to the higher forms of Christianity, but, according to their knowledge and merit, gradually arrived thereto."

Bishop Stillingfleet designates one principal cause "of the great flourishing of religion in the primitive times to be the strictness used by them in their admission of members."

Dr. Neander affirms :

At the beginning, when it was important that the Church should rapidly extend itself, those who confessed their belief in Jesus as the Messiah, (among the Jews,) or their belief in one God, and in Jesus as the Messiah, (among the Gentiles,) were immediately baptized, as appears from the New Testament. Gradually it came to be thought necessary that those who wished to be received into the Christian Church should be subjected to a more careful preparatory instruction, and to a stricter examination. . . . The period of probation must have been determined by the different condition of individuals.

Dr. Neander's entire chapters on Baptism and the Confession of Faith in the Apostolic and Primitive Churches would be in point, had we space to produce them.

Says Dr. Henry Cowles :

The apostolic condition of membership was no other than faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. See Acts v, 14; viii, 37; xvi, 33, 34; Rom. x, 8-10; 1 John v, 1; 2 John 7-11. "Believers were the more added to the Lord." "If thou believest with all thine heart," etc. "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God." "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ hath not God." "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house," etc.

An examination of these passages will show: (1) That faith in Christ was made the condition of admission to the ordinances and Church fellowship. (2) That all those who had this faith were admitted. (3) That those who denied this cardinal doctrine were deemed Antichrist, and rejected. (4) That this doctrine was regarded as a test of piety of heart, as well as of purity in sentiment.

All through the New Testament Scriptures the Church is uniformly represented as the company of the *saved*. St. Paul calls it the *body of Christ*, and believers the *members* of this body. 1 Cor. xii, 27. It is Christ's bride, (Eph. v, 31, 32,) the light of the world, (Matt. v, 14,) the salt of the earth, (Matt. v, 13;) all of which indicates that the Church is to be "the true source of spiritual illumination and the instrument of salvation to the world." True members of the real Church are represented as having "come out from the world," (2 Cor. vi, 17,) "born again," (1 Pet. i, 23,) "made new creatures." 2 Cor. v, 17. Is it to be supposed that to this company of the *saved* new members were admitted without any questions as to "saving faith"? How, then, could it have been known whether the Church was being perpetuated as a company of the saved—the believing body of Christ, the shining light, the preserving salt—or only as a body of "penitents" desiring "to flee from the wrath to come"?

The rigor with which the apostles enforced discipline in the exclusion of unworthy members is strong presumptive proof that they guarded the door of admission with equal care and zeal. How stern are the apostle's precepts upon this point! John forbids even saluting a willful and incorrigible Gnostic heretic. 2 John x, 11.

Paul prohibits eating with a fornicator, a glutton, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner, who still calls himself a brother, and claims the privileges of the Church, (1 Cor. v, 9-12,) and he peremptorily requires that such an offender be put out of the Church, (v, 13,) with allusion to the injunction of the law of Moses.*

Indeed, the best inferential and positive Scripture evidence regarding the Church as Christ founded it is in support of the principle of a regenerate membership.

That the Christian Churches of whose constitution and history we have information in the New Testament were designedly founded upon the basis of a new life in their members, there can be no reasonable doubt. Those who are received into these Churches are every-where represented as holding their title to membership on the evidence that they have become true believers in Christ. Those who heard the Apostle Peter at Pentecost had their hearts penetrated with sharp pain on account of their sins: they were exhorted to change their underlying moral purpose, and be baptized upon the ground of their faith in the Lord

* Schaff's "Apostolic Church."

Jesus; and, when they had accepted this exhortation to salvation, they were in fact baptized. Those whom the Spirit of Christ at that time added daily to the Church are designated as *οἱ σωζόμενοι*, (Acts ii, 37,) those already in process of salvation. The members of the Churches are designated as "called of Jesus Christ," "called saints," (Rom. i, 6.) "sanctified in Christ," (1 Cor. i, 2.) "saints and believers in Christ Jesus," (Eph. i, 1. Πιστοῦς is not in this connection to be translated *faithful*, but *believing*.) He who reads with candor 1 Thess. i, 1-7, and 2 Thess. i, 1-4, cannot doubt what was the basis of membership in the earliest Christian Churches. He who has a high regard for the thought and wish of Christ as expressed in these apostolic Churches will be loath, indeed, either to take from or add to those conditions of membership upon which they were founded.*

The New Testament teaching as to the exact place of assent to creeds in the general requisitions for Church membership admits of different opinions. The best authorities concede that creeds, either verbal or written, have ever held a place in the Christian Church as aids to determine the credible proofs of true discipleship.

When Christ sent his apostles to teach all nations he enjoined upon them two things: First, "To baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and secondly, "To teach them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them." Matt. xxviii, 20. And for the same reason the ancient Church never admitted any persons to baptism (which was the ordinary door of admitting proselytes, and uniting them as members of the body of Christ) without first obliging them to do these two things: First, To make profession of the primary articles of the Christian faith; and secondly, To promise, or bind themselves by a strict engagement and vow, to live in holy ordinance to the laws and institutions of Christ.†

The apostles of our Lord were zealous preachers of sound doctrine, into which those that were added daily to the Church, having once entered, steadfastly continued. Acts ii, 42. Paul feared lest, after he had departed from Ephesus, grievous wolves might enter in among the flock, or rise up from among themselves to draw away disciples after them. Acts xx, 29, 30. In numerous places in his writings the apostle furnishes unmistakable traces of a familiar, if not a written, creed. His favorable mention of the "form of doctrine," (Rom. vi, 17,) and of the "form of sound words," (2 Tim. i, 13,) is in point.

* Professor George T. Ladd's "Principles of Church Polity," p. 194.

† Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church," book xvi, chap. i, sec. 1.

The apostles evidently recognized the fact that the intellectual element necessarily enters into true and steadfast discipleship. The substance of the creed which bears their name was, doubtless, used by them in developing proofs of a Christ-like mind in all new believers.

But it is claimed that the Apostles' Creed is the only one the Church is authorized to make obligatory upon young converts. And where did the Church get authority to make that obligatory? It cannot be proved that the apostles formulated this ancient creed, still less can it be shown that they enjoined its use. The only scriptural basis for the use of a creed is the fact that the apostles made doctrinal tests conducive to the discovery, defense, and promotion of Christian character and truth. We are to imitate their example. But what is it to imitate their example? This is a point upon which much fallacy exists. It deserves examination.

To follow the example of the apostles, is not necessarily to take the words of their creed, even were we sure of obtaining them, and use them under all circumstances, but rather to construct a creed on the same principles as theirs. And what were those principles? (1) A denial of all existing and active forms of fatal error. (2) The assertion of vital points of Christian truth. (3) Making prominent faith in Christ, that being, in the circumstances of the age, no less a test of piety than of orthodoxy. Let creeds be constructed on these principles, and the apostolic example will be followed in the only rational way. Possibly the reason their creed cannot be gathered up *verbatim* is that it would invariably be used under circumstances as diverse as possible from theirs.

We would not be understood as attempting to invalidate the so-called Apostles' Creed. We hold it in the highest veneration as the most ancient creed of the Church, and an admirable summary of several fundamental doctrines. All that we claim is that its use is not scripturally enjoined, and that it is not adequate to meet the demand of all ages and circumstances. The views of Wesley and the fathers as to the place of the Apostles' Creed, and other articles of faith, in the initiatory rites of Methodism, will appear in the body of this article.

If by the "Church as Mr. Wesley left it," Dr. Kelley means the societies in England which, during Mr. Wesley's life,

scarcely constituted a separate Church, but were regarded by him as special agencies for promoting the "revival of spiritual Christianity" which he believed would pervade all existing Churches, it will not be difficult to show that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has little to boast of as a follower of our venerated founder.

The plan of this article is to show, I. Wesley's original method of receiving members; II. The condition of membership in the American Methodist Church prior to 1844; III. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and IV. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church as it now stands.

I. It were folly to deny the historic fact that Mr. Wesley did not make theological opinions a condition of membership in the first organized form of Methodism. The General Rules, which were drawn up by him as a sort of bond of union among the societies, contain no dogmatic conditions of communion, and there are abundant avowals in his writings that he gloried in the doctrinal freedom of the early societies which he formed.

"I still aver," he says, in his eighty-sixth year,

I have never read or heard of, either in ancient or modern history, any other Church which builds on so broad a foundation as the Methodists do; which requires of its members no conformity, either in opinion or modes of worship, but barely this one thing—to "fear God and work righteousness."

Again :

One circumstance is quite peculiar to the Methodists: the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever.

And again :

I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from my own, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig and I wear my own hair, though I have a right to object if he shakes the powder about my eyes.

But these quotations from Mr. Wesley, if they prove any thing at all, prove too much for our Southern brethren as well as ourselves, for, as will appear farther on, they require more of a candidate for membership than "a desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc. The minister must be satisfied of "the

genuineness of his faith," etc. Nay, more, the candidate is brought before the congregation, and is there required to assume the obligations of Church membership.

It was natural that Mr. Wesley should boast of the freedom of his societies from dogmatic opinions, especially as contrasted with other Churches. He himself stood connected with the Established Church—a Church with doctrines and forms enough for all—and he could show that every member of that Church or any other could have entered into the work of his societies without subscribing to a new creed, or in any way compromising the old. He says of himself:

I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England. I love her liturgy. I approve her plan of discipline, and only wish it could be put in execution. I do not knowingly vary from any rule of the Church, unless in those few instances where I judge, and as far as I judge, there is an absolute necessity.

Of the Methodists in general he says:

But whether ye will hear or whether ye will forbear, we, by the grace of God, hold on our way; being ourselves still members of the Church of England, as we were from the beginning, but receiving all that love God, in every Church, as our brother, and sister, and mother. And in order to their union with us we require no unity in opinions or in modes of worship, but barely that they "fear God and work righteousness." . . . This is the glory of the Methodists, and of them alone! *They are themselves no particular sect or party;* but they receive those of all parties who "endeavor to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God." *

These extracts show conclusively that Mr. Wesley considered both himself and such of his followers as were previously members of the Church of England as yet doctrinally and liturgically Churchmen, and that their distinctive character as Methodists was for the one all-comprehensive purpose of saving souls and building each other up in holiness.

From this it will appear that Mr. Wesley's method of receiving members into the societies was special, and not designed for use as in a regularly constituted Church. It was for himself only. He had immediate jurisdiction over all the societies. He regarded himself as the superintendent of every circuit in the kingdom. The senior preacher was called an

* From Sermon on "The Ministerial Office," preached at Cork, May 4, 1789, less than two years prior to his death.

assistant, (to Mr. Wesley,) and the junior preachers, helpers. The plan worked well enough as operated by Mr. Wesley, but was crude in itself, and early underwent deserved modifications. Says Bishop Hedding:

Mr. Wesley, as the venerable founder (under God) of the whole Methodist society, governed without any responsibility whatever ; and the universal respect and veneration of both the preachers and the people for him made them cheerfully submit to this ; nor was there ever, perhaps, a human being who used so much power better, or with a purer eye to the Redeemer's glory, than that blessed man of God.*

What was Mr. Wesley's formal method of receiving and excluding members ? It was a method which he borrowed from the ancient Church :

He issued printed tickets to the members, and small cards bearing a pointed text of Scripture, and often also a symbolical engraving : an anchor for hope ; a guardian angel ; a Bible encircled by a halo ; Christ washing the feet of his disciples. The ticket was renewed quarterly, and dated, and inscribed with the name of the bearer. It admitted him to the love-feast, and was, in fine, *his certificate to membership in the society; and if he was unfaithful, he was dismissed by a refusal of the preacher to renew it.* †

How would such a system answer now for a Church whose preachers in charge number more than twelve thousand, of all grades of scholarship, of all ages, (mere boys in some cases having full charge,) and scattered as wide as the world ? To ask the question is to answer it. In a great Church there must be such disciplinary regulation as shall secure to every member his rights, and to all members protection from designing intruders, irrespective of the capacity or experience of the officiating minister. Thus wrote Coke and Asbury : "It is manifestly our duty to fence in our society, and preserve it from intruders ; otherwise we should soon become a desolate waste."

It is to our purpose to show something of the prerequisites regarded by Mr. Wesley as essential to full membership in the societies. He says :

Nothing can be more simple, nothing more rational, than the Methodist Discipline : it is entirely founded on common sense,

* "Discourse on Discipline," p. 20.

† Stevens' "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 454.

particularly applying the general rules of Scripture. Any person determined to save his soul may be united (this is the only condition) with them. But this desire must be evidenced by three marks: avoiding all known sin; doing good after his power; and attending all the ordinances of God. He is then placed in such a class as is convenient for him, where he spends about an hour in the week. And the next quarter, if nothing is objected to him, he is admitted into the society; and therein he may continue as long as he continues to meet his brethren, and walks according to his profession.*

The above shows clearly that the candidate was required: (1) To give clear evidences of his desire for salvation. Mr. Wesley was not guilty of originating a disastrous and unscriptural policy of admitting into the Church every one who had merely good desires. His "previous requirement" meant a thorough repentance, a full and hearty consecration, to be demonstrated by certain exacting tokens. This evidence was demanded before any steps were taken toward admission. (2) The candidate was then received on probation and assigned to a class. What for? That the leader might inquire how his soul prospered; not only how he observed the outward rules, (he was now beyond that,) but how he grew in the knowledge and love of God. The original and great purpose of the class-meeting was to bring souls into the assurance of pardon. (3) The next quarter, (the period of probation was indefinite,) there being no objection, the probationer graduated into full membership. In all this there was careful religious oversight. Little danger of (spiritually) improper persons insinuating themselves into the societies. But nothing was said about doctrines! True; and it was unnecessary that any thing should be said. They had doctrines enough in the Church of England, from which they would not and did not separate.

Mr. Wesley was not opposed to creeds. He knew that in regular Churches they were essential. He preached doctrines, and defended them with the greatest earnestness. His own doings are sufficient proof of his solicitude for correct standards of faith. The English societies were not the sole objects of his care. Far across the ocean he saw other societies springing up, in circumstances quite different. Mr. Whitefield had made America a special field of labor. Souls had been melted under

* Sermon on "God's Vineyard."

his preaching like snow in thaw-time. They had run well for a time, but a "vast majority had drawn back unto perdition." And what wonder? inquires Mr. Wesley:

It was a true saying in the ancient Church, "The soul and the body make a man; and the spirit and discipline make a Christian." But those who were more or less affected by Mr. Whitefield's preaching had no discipline at all. They had no shadow of discipline; nothing of the kind. They were formed into no societies; they had no Christian connection with each other; nor were ever taught to watch over each other's souls.*

Things were in this state when, in 1767, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, under Mr. Wesley's direction, set out for the American colonies. They labored in Philadelphia, New York, and many other places, organizing societies and introducing Christian discipline. Soon native helpers were raised up and a little Conference formed. At the first session, in 1773, the preachers formally recognized "the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists," as contained in the English Minutes, to be "the sole rule of their conduct." As time passed on, however, other regulations were adopted, until 1784, when the Methodists in America asked Mr. Wesley that their character as mere societies cease, and that they be organized into a Church.

What now did Mr. Wesley do? He sees the provinces in North America totally disjoined from the British empire. He sees that the Established Church, to which he and many of his followers in England belonged, has no jurisdiction. He sees the new societies widely scattered, with no ministers to baptize or to administer the holy communion. His scruples as to a separate Church are now at an end, and he resolves to organize a regular Church. How does he proceed? The societies already have his "General Rules," the same as in England. Are these enough? Not so. They will do in England, under the shadow of the Establishment, with her full array of doctrines and her magnificent form of ritual, but they will not suffice in America in the newly-organized Church. Going to the doctrines of the Church of England, all of which he held, to her ritual which he loved, and to her discipline which he approved, he prepares and prints an abridged Liturgy, and a

* Sermon on "The Work of God in North America."

collection of psalms and hymns. With the contents of this Liturgy we have now no concern, save as to its "Creed." What? Mr. Wesley prepare a creed for the Methodists! Even so. Separating twenty-four "Articles of Religion" from the Thirty-nine of the Church of England, he sends them by the hands of Dr. Coke, whom he had ordained as general superintendent, (authorizing him to set apart Francis Asbury to be joint superintendent,) and these, together with one additional Article pertaining to the rulers of the United States, are adopted by the special Conference of 1784 as the doctrinal standard (or one of the standards) of the American Methodist Church.

In 1789 the Articles of Religion, together with certain Doctrinal Tracts of Mr. Wesley's authorship, were incorporated in the Discipline, to which was prefixed an Address by the Bishops, in which they say: "Far from wishing you to be ignorant of our doctrines, or any part of our Discipline, we desire you to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the whole." Evidently the fathers of the Church had now come to understand the necessity of indoctrinating the membership in order to their stability as adherents to the new faith. But was belief in these doctrines made obligatory? Not directly, yet the tendency was in that direction. This brings us to our second inquiry:

II. How did persons attain to membership in the early American Methodist Church?

1. By admission on trial. On application for admission, they were required to come acceptably recommended to the preacher in charge, or else to meet three or four times in class, and, in either case, evident awakening to a sense of their fallen condition was considered essential. Then the preacher who had the oversight of the circuit gave them notes of admission, and they remained on trial, prior to 1789, three months, and subsequently six months.

2. When the period of probation had expired, they received tickets, if recommended by their leader, and became full members of the society. And to prevent any complaint on the ground of ignorance of what was required of them, the rules of the society were read to them the first time they met in class.

In 1836 it was made a requisite for admission into the Church that the candidates "have been baptized." In 1840 the following was added: The candidates "shall, on examina-

tion by the minister in charge of the church, give satisfactory assurances both of the correctness of their faith and their willingness to observe and keep the rules of the Church." This important clause is still retained in the Discipline of both American Churches, but it marks a serious departure from Dr. Kelley's theory of the Wesleyan principle. It gave the administrator unquestionable authority to measure the candidate with the utmost care, both by the doctrinal standards of the Church, and the highest standard of Christian trust; and as no specific form of receiving probationers into full membership was maintained, it may safely be inferred that many of the preachers exercised their prerogative in its fullest extent.

The modification of Mr. Wesley's ticket system by the Americans is worth noting. In 1784 it was the rule to give notes to those received on trial, and quarterly tickets to those in full connection. In 1836, "Give notes to none" was changed to "Let none be admitted on trial," and "Give tickets to none" into "Let none be received into the Church." In 1784 it was the custom, in large towns, to admit new members into the bands at the quarterly love-feast following the quarterly meeting, and into the society on the Sunday following the quarterly meeting. It was required of the preacher at this time that he read the names of any who were excluded; and in 1789 he was required, also quarterly, to make public the names of members received. Thus the system which Mr. Wesley considered so quiet, simple, and rational, was gradually revolutionized.

It had always been the custom of the Methodists, as soon as there were four men or women believers in any place, to put them into a band, and appoint a leader, giving him the rules of the band; and in 1784 it was made obligatory that, in large towns, persons be admitted into the bands at the quarterly love-feast following the quarterly meeting, and into the society on the Sunday following the quarterly meeting. In 1789 the names of those who had been received or excluded were ordered to be read in public once a quarter.

In order to understand the intensely searching character of the band exercises, let us refresh our minds by looking over some of the questions proposed to every one before admission:

1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?
2. Have you peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ?

3. Have you the witness of God's Spirit with your spirit, that you are a child of God?
4. Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart?
5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?
6. Do you desire to be told your faults?
7. Do you desire to be told all your faults, and that plain and home?
8. Do you desire that every one of us should tell you, from time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?
9. Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning you?

These and other similar questions were to be asked at the door of admission, and as often as occasion required, so that there was little danger of heresy existing in either young or old members without early detection, and still less danger of persons, "unrenewed in the spirit of their minds," either attaining to or holding the status of full membership, without at least being "cut to the quick," and having their "hearts searched to the bottom."

Be it remembered that these Band Societies were older than organized Methodism, either in America or England. The Band Rules were drawn up by Mr. Wesley in 1738, and were printed and circulated. All who were justified by faith, who knew their sins forgiven, were urged to meet in band. It was the most strict and searching form of class-meeting ever known, and shows how careful Mr. Wesley was to devise means for knowing the religious state and sentiments of all who became identified with the "revival" movement. Had these band meetings flourished, not sixty years, but down to the present time, there would be little need of searching inquiries in our ritualistic services.

The foregoing statements show that a "desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins," was not the condition of full membership in the early American Methodist Church, but simply a prerequisite to *admission on trial*. Before the candidate could be advanced to membership, he must meet in class for a stated period, and give evidence to his leader that he was a proper person to be recommended for higher favor; in other words to receive the Wesleyan ticket.

III. How are persons constituted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South? To avoid possible errors, let us quote from their own Discipline, and appeal to their own expositors.

Ques. How shall members be received into the Church?

Ans. 1. When persons offer themselves for Church membership, let the preacher in charge inquire into their spiritual condition, and receive them into the Church when they have given satisfactory assurances of their desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins; and, also, of the genuineness of their faith, and of their willingness to keep the rules of the Church.

2. When satisfied on these points, let the minister bring the candidates before the congregation, whenever practicable, and receive them according to the prescribed form.*

Two or three things are conspicuous here: (1) No probation. Yet it was in the "Church as Mr. Wesley left it." What has become of it? It is gone. It is not an addition to, but a subtraction from, "the Church as Mr. Wesley left it." Says the Rev. Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin, in the "Christian Advocate," Nashville, of January 21, 1882:

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has so modified the rule of admitting members into the Church as not to require six months' probation; but allows a person to be admitted at any time when judged worthy of a place in the Church. How? The person desiring membership is a "*candidate*," "having a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins." This does not entitle him to membership. He is only an *applicant*. What more? See "Discipline," etc., (as above quoted.)

(2) No recommendation by a class-leader. Yet this was required in the early American Church. Why not now? Simply because "the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has so modified," etc. The candidate is not required to be recommended as of old. What, then, is substituted? Read above, "Let the preacher in charge *inquire into their spiritual condition*," etc. The responsibility is shifted from the class-leader, and from the candidate's own record in class during probation, as in the early Church, to the local administrator of discipline. And is the preacher in charge authorized only to inquire as to the candidate's "desire to flee from the wrath to come?" etc. Nay, more than this: "and, also, of the *genuineness of their faith*, and of their willingness to keep the rules of the Church." And, evidently, it is regarded as a serious matter by our Southern brethren. Says Dr. M'Ferrin, than whom there are none in the South better qualified to pass judgment:

* "Discipline," pp. 121, 122.

The habit of receiving persons into the full fellowship of the Church upon a mere statement of the candidate that he "desires to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins," without any evidence of the fact, is anti-Methodistic and anti-scriptural. What is the Church? "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same."—Article XIII.

These faithful men are not persons merely having good desires, and a fear of the wrath to come; it may be they are skeptical and profane. For one, I do not wish to see the Methodist Church crowded with impenitent and unbelieving sinners. I would take any sincere, penitent sinner as a candidate for membership; but the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, do not allow him a place in full fellowship till he comes up to the requirements of the law as found in the Discipline, and taught in God's word.

Bishop M'Tyeire makes similar observations in his "Manual of the Discipline," pp. 71, 72. "All diligence," he says, "should be used in the examination, instruction, and preparation of the candidates for the vows and relations they are to assume."

We are next concerned with the public examination of candidates for membership in the Southern Church, as it is made obligatory upon pastors to follow the "prescribed form":

Dearly beloved, you profess to have a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from your sins; you seek the fellowship of the people of God to assist you in working out your salvation; I therefore demand of you:

Do you solemnly, in the presence of God and this congregation, ratify and confirm the promise and vow of repentance, faith, and obedience, contained in the baptismal covenant?

Ans. I do, God being my helper.

Will you be subject to the discipline of the Church, attend upon its ordinances, and support its institutions?

Ans. I will endeavor so to do, by the help of God.*

There is only one phase of the above questions to which it is necessary to call special attention, and that is, the words "faith and obedience." In the corresponding question of our ritual there is no such specification, and this fact dulls the edge of Dr. Kelley's criticism, that we have added a question as to the experience of the candidate. Commenting editorially on this question of faith, the Nashville "Christian Advocate" says:

* "Discipline," pp. 237, 238.

The faith they must profess is the Apostles' Creed, all of which they are required steadfastly to believe. They must bind themselves to endeavor obediently to keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of life.

We know of no Church which requires a higher standard than this. Some denominations may demand that the candidate shall either profess, or give satisfactory evidence, that he is justified and born again; but they would consider such a desire as our Discipline requires to be satisfactory evidence.

Briefly stated, then, the qualifications for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are the following. We prefer to use Dr. M'Ferrin's own words:

1. The prerequisite, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc.
2. Satisfying the minister having charge that his faith is genuine, and his spiritual condition such as to justify his reception.
3. His public confession of Christ, and the assumption of the vows of the Church.
4. The declaration of his faith. *He accepts the Articles of Religion, the General Rules of the Church, and adopts the Apostles' Creed.*

Being called upon to explain in what way candidates are required to adopt the Articles of Religion, Dr. M'Ferrin says, that though it is not

Stipulated as a condition of membership, it is clearly implied, that a man wishing to join a Church, any branch of the Church, accepts the creed of that Church. When a foreigner adopts our country as his home, and becomes naturalized, wishing to enjoy the rights of citizenship, he accepts the Constitution, and binds himself to support the laws of the nation; so, when a person seeks admission into the Church he, of course, accepts the discipline and adopts the creed of the Church with which he unites. So when the candidate comes before the congregation and assumes the vows of the Church, he promises "to be subject to the discipline of the Church, attend upon its ordinances, and support its institutions." It is further provided, that "if a member of our Church endeavors to sow dissension in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, such person so offending shall be first reproved . . . ; and if he persist in such pernicious practices, he shall be dealt with as in case of immorality."

If I enter any society, or become connected with any organization, it is implied that I adopt the principles of that organization; otherwise I would be a spurious member.

From the foregoing it will be seen that not repentance alone, but faith, the promise of obedience, baptism, a public profession of Christ, and embracing the doctrines of the Church, are all involved in being admitted to membership in the Church South.

Dr. Kelley and others may in theory dissent from the views of Dr. M'Ferrin, but they would hardly care to state as matter of fact, before the eyes and ears of Christendom, that it is the practice of that branch of Methodism to receive new members regardless of their Christian experience, (penitence only being required,) and regardless of their doctrinal views, whether Calvinists or Arminians, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Methodists. If such is really the general practice among them, the sooner the world knows it the better. We think it is not. Hence the views above presented.

IV. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In our "Discipline," Part I, chap. i, ¶ 31, we read :

There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins."

But this desire, to become available, must be evinced in three ways: First, "By doing no harm," etc.; second, "By doing good," etc.; third, "By attending upon all the ordinances of God," etc. If the pastor knows the candidate to come up to this standard, he can admit him on trial at once. Otherwise, the rule is, "Let none be admitted on trial except they are well recommended by one you know, or until they have met twice or thrice in class."

The next step is specified in Part I, chap. ii, of Discipline :

In order to prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the Church,

1. Let no one be received into the Church until such person has been at least six months on trial, and has been recommended by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, or, where no such meeting is held, by the leader, and has been baptized, and shall, on examination by the minister in charge before the Church, give satisfactory assurances both of the correctness of his faith and of his willingness to observe and keep the rules of the Church.

This is the essential requirement of our Discipline, yet there is nothing special in it as to "conscious pardon." The penitent

candidate is received at once into the Church, just where Mr. Wesley would have placed him: he is a member on trial; he is meeting in class; he is under the care of a leader; he is being questioned as to the prosperity of his soul; he is being searched by those whose duty it is to prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the Church whether he is a suitable candidate; in a word, he is enjoying all the religious privileges of the Lord's house, without any special pledges whatever. No examination is required as a condition of recommendation by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, the fitness of the candidate being left to the judgment of that body. Nor is there any in the baptismal covenant, that requiring only a renunciation of "the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desire of the flesh, so that" the candidate "will not follow nor be led by them." True, the candidate must give assent to the Apostles' Creed, and promise to "obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of" his "life;" but all these obligations might be taken by a devoted seeker who had not yet come to a full assurance of personal salvation.

In all this, then, there is nothing more exacting than is found in the Discipline of our Southern brethren. And here we might rest our case, for our Discipline does not go so far as to instruct pastors to receive candidates "according to the prescribed form." There is in the Discipline a form, first published in 1864, but its use is not obligatory. It is purely a matter of taste or judgment whether preachers in charge shall use the form of ritual or originate one of their own. The only essential requirement is that they shall examine the candidate before the Church as to correctness in faith, etc. Turning, however, to the form of service, we find something more definite than in the prescribed form of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The first question relates to a ratification of the baptismal covenant. The second is very important. It reads:

Have you saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ?
Ans. I trust I have.

To this question Dr. Kelley objects as out of harmony with the character of the Church of the New Testament, and with

Methodism as John Wesley left it. To this it may be answered, (1) We have shown that the New Testament Church was a Church of the saved, and the door of admission into it was as carefully guarded as this question would imply. (2) The rules drawn by Mr. Wesley for the Band Societies admitted of questions just as searching and direct as this. (3) The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, seeks to cover the same ground by a different form of inquiry. They include in their question relating to the Baptismal Covenant the words "faith and obedience," which we omit, and Dr. M'Ferrin says that their examination (in the use of this question, we suppose) involves a "public profession of Christ."

Finally, the question is not designed to be asked at the threshold of admission, but only at the final point of graduation. The candidate has been six months in the full enjoyment of all the religious privileges of the Church. He has been pointed to Christ. He has testified to his brethren again and again. By this time he is not only conscious of pardon, but is prepared joyfully to testify to the fact before the Church and before the world. If he is not, and the question is likely to embarrass him, his probation can be extended, or, if thought proper, the question can be omitted. Its use, though general, is not compulsory. So we apprehend.

The next question of the ritual reads:

Do you believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church?

Ans. I do.

To this question the same objection is urged, and with greater apparent force. But what is there of it? (1) Like the preceding question, it is not propounded to raw candidates for admission, but to those well along in the way. It is a simple inquiry of well-matured Wesleyans, before putting upon them the final badge of the Wesleyan character, whether they accept the doctrines, so broadly Christian, which Wesley himself designated as their creed. (2) If it be urged that Wesley designed the Articles of Religion as only an indicatory standard, it may be inquired, Why, then, in eliminating from them all traces of Calvinism, did he not substitute something of his own Arminianism? Why not also include some of his own peculiar doctrines, as the Witness of the Spirit, the Sanctification of

Believers, the Possibility of Falling from Grace, and Eternal Rewards and Punishments? As only indicatory standards, these important doctrines were clearly entitled to a place in the Wesleyan creed. The truth is, that even as an obligatory standard our Articles of Religion allow of the largest possible liberality consistent with any doctrinal obligation whatever. We do not see how the preacher in charge could more satisfactorily examine candidates as to the "correctness of their faith" than to propound this simple question. It is not whether they believe the Articles themselves, but whether they believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles, a form of question which could hardly offend any faith sufficiently correct to be evangelical. But, (3) Were this the only impediment to organic union between the two great branches of Methodism on this continent, it could probably be modified in the twinkling of an eye so as to be acceptable to all concerned. As now authorized, the question is only one of administrative form. Its use is not enjoined in the text of the Discipline. The end sought could be accomplished by other means. Dr. M'Ferrin affirms (see page 507) that the same obligation is practically involved in their form of examination. Whether so or not, the language of their Discipline, which makes the public examination obligatory, is substantially like our own.

We have endeavored in this paper to state facts of history, and to interpret them in the interests of a common Methodism. Certain points have, we think, been pretty clearly established:

1. Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, were the requisites of admission into the New Testament Church, and constituted at that time a test both of religious experience and genuine faith.

2. Evident repentance, with salvation by faith as an ultimatum, was the condition of probationary membership in the original Wesleyan societies, while full membership followed a period of the most searching spiritual examination in the class and band meetings, and the class-leader was authorized to object to the admission of candidates if he found they walked not according to their profession.

3. The early American Church adopted the same rules, but subsequently defined the limits of probation, and added

baptism, and a public examination of candidates, as requisites of full membership.

4. The Methodist Episcopal Church retains all these features, and has adopted a ritualistic form for the reception of members which provides clearly for examination of candidates as to the correctness of both their religious and doctrinal faith as the American Discipline requires ; and, though the interrogation as to creed is at variance with Mr. Wesley's sentiments touching theological opinions in the early societies, it is in rational accord with apostolic example, and is not more exacting than is required as a safeguard against the insinuating liberalism of the age.

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has modified the historic Methodist plan by utterly abolishing the prerequisites of probation and class-leader recommendation, and receiving directly into full membership (as Dr. Kelley maintains) all who "desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc., which was the original Wesleyan condition of probationary membership ; or (as Dr. M'Ferrin maintains) all who immediately measure up to a standard quite equal to that of the Methodist Episcopal Church after six months' probation. Which of these views is in accordance with Southern Methodist practice we assume not to say, but both are departures from the landmarks of Wesley and the fathers.

The inevitable conclusion is that the imputation which called forth this paper must return to its author void. And for this he may not mourn, but rather rejoice, in that it clears the way for warmer sympathy and more earnest co-operation between two great Christian bodies. Both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have work enough to do, and responsibility enough to bear, and defects enough at home to correct, without bringing harsh accusations against each other. There may be good grounds for remaining apart, but one ground is not because either Church has a perfect polity, or has retained the whole truth, while the other has lost the traces of her New Testament and Wesleyan character.

There is one deviation from the Wesleyan plan, however, concerning which both Churches might do well to retrace their steps, and that is in the discretionary use of the proba-

tionary principle. Our Southern brethren have dispensed with probation altogether, yet Bishop M'Tyeire's Manual (pp. 71,72) indicates a felt necessity for some such provision. Dr. J. Ditzler, of that Church, has been "turning his eye within and without," and he discovers something to be done in this direction. "Let us restore vitality to class-meetings; watch lest unconverted men get into our pulpits; rectify our ritual, for it has been tampered with, instead of improved." It is no secret that the almanac rule of probation fails to give satisfaction in our own Church. Let all Methodists go back to the Wesleyan idea, use the principle as local circumstances require, and they will then have in common a safe, just, and needful law.

It is by this method of home investigation and application that substantial fraternity is to be promoted. "Go down to the sea-shore when the tide is low and you notice a great many little muddy pools. But when the tide comes up you see the little pools are lost." Forty years ago and less the tide of sympathy between Methodism North and South was at a low ebb; but about fifteen years ago it began to turn, and is still gradually rising. It is yet too soon, however, to look over each other's lines too closely for the little muddy pools. Only let us be true to our mission as pointed out by our venerable founder, "to take care of the societies, to save as many as you can, to bring as many as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord." Thus engaged in the practical and spiritual work of the Church, we shall discover, by the time the year 1900 is ushered in, that the "little muddy pools" of political, constitutional, and ritualistic differences will possibly have disappeared, and fraternity will not be in name and form only, but a glorious reality. Then, whether American Methodism is embraced in one, two, or ten branches, the world may look on and say, "Behold, how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

ART. VI.—MISSIONARY METHODS.

In a former article we gave a condensed and rapid *résumé* of the rise, growth, and present *status* of the foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Very little more than the simple facts, as they appear on the surface, could be given in the space at our disposal; and yet not the facts themselves, so much as their implications, the principles they demonstrate, and the possibilities they bring into view. The practical philosophy of missions which these facts teach is, indeed, their chief value, and we accordingly resume the subject in order to consider some of these things.

Missionary work, as is often said, and as all know, is inseparable from the living Church. It has, accordingly, been in operation during all the Christian ages—modified, however, in its form and manifestations by the changes of the spirit and the methods of action prevalent in the Church at different times and among its varied conditions. Passing over unnoticed the times of the early Church and of the Middle Ages, as we come to the times of the *Renaissance*—a term that may be applied to thought and life as well as to art—we may detect signs of awakening and of quickened activity in the Church life of those times. This manifested itself among the nations of northern Europe in an unprecedented spirit of free inquiry, which brought on the Reformation, while among the Latin races it showed itself in increased zeal for the Church, and especially for the Christianization of the non-Christian world—in which movements Loyola, Ximenes, and all the Jesuits were the specially distinguished actors. While the Protestant Churches were chiefly occupied in asserting their own right to be, and the sacred privilege of private judgment, the Romish Church was pushing out its missions into some of the most distant countries, and even the Greek Church was vigorously extending itself into the remote North.

But even then there were signs of the missionary spirit in many points in Protestant Christendom, though its efforts were comparatively feeble and its field of operations narrowly circumscribed. As early as 1556 the Church at Geneva sent a company of fourteen missionaries to Brazil, but its purpose

was frustrated by the Portuguese authorities. In 1559 a mission from Sweden, under the auspices of Gustavus Vasa, was sent to Lapland, which resulted, at length, in the Christianization of that people. Early in the next century, the Dutch, having obtained a footing in Ceylon, began missionary efforts among the natives. These several efforts, though isolated and comparatively feeble, indicate the existence of the missionary spirit among the Protestant Churches, nor were their results either inconsiderable or wholly transient. But the closing years of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth, is the period usually recognized as the date of the beginning of modern missionary movements. In 1705 the King of Denmark established a mission in the Danish colony in Ceylon, at Tranquebar, of which Bartholomew Ziegenbalg was the apostle and sustaining spirit; and this, in respect to both the zeal with which it was prosecuted and the success that it achieved during its first half century, will not suffer by a comparison with those of later times, having had the services, after those of its founder, of both Schultze and Schwartz. The mission of Hans Egede to Greenland dates from this period, and also that of Carey, the pioneer of all the Baptist missions in India and Burmah. About 1810 Dr. Coke commenced his great work in the West Indies, whither he had been driven by stress of weather when on his way to Nova Scotia with a company of Wesleyan preachers; and a few years later he sailed on a like errand for Ceylon, and died on the voyage, but the work proceeded as he had purposed. The Christian Knowledge Society, which, though only incidentally so, was still really and effectively a missionary agency, was formed in 1698, and the missionary operations of the Moravians began about 1725. The Churches of New England—in which they were effectually aided and impelled by their kindred Churches at home—engaged actively and successfully, too, in evangelistic labors among the native Indians, and the conversion of the native Americans became a subject of no little interest, about this time, with English Churchmen, among the results of which were the visits of the Wesleys and their associates to Georgia—itself a colony founded for philanthropic and religious purposes, as well as with political and mercantile designs.

But the work of missions, during the whole of the eighteenth century, was compelled to struggle against great and formidable difficulties, and with but feeble and uncertain support. It was largely indebted for whatever of success it achieved to the devotion, energy, and self-sacrifice of those who engaged in it. The home Churches were simply indifferent to the whole matter, and, if the attention of their leaders was called to it, they often regarded the whole affair as visionary—not to say a presumptuous intermeddling with the affairs of Providence. To become a missionary, at that time, signified the acceptance of a life-long exile among savages, without any assured support, or even sympathy, from the home Church; and if brought into contact with Europeans, these would probably be their most potent antagonists in respect to their evangelistic labors. And yet this was the period and these the conditions that produced some of the most illustrious missionary heroes that have arisen since the times of the apostles. They seem to have acted under a special spiritual impulse in entering upon their work; and because of the completeness of their consecration, with the like renunciation of all earthly good, they appear to have entirely escaped from any possible temptation to look for either pleasure or emolument apart from their own special work. That they failed so largely to accomplish great and lasting results is readily accounted for when the newness of their positions and their own inexperience, together with their lack of facilities and the unfriendliness of their surroundings, are considered. And yet they accomplished not a little, and they laid the foundations upon which later missionary successes have been made possible.

The new era of missions very nearly agrees, in time, with the beginning and continuance of the century. The first years of the term were quite naturally devoted to making preparations for future action; and in this those occupied with the work "builded better than they knew." This was the period of the founding of most of the principal Missionary Societies of Protestant Christendom. Among these in this country we find the American Board, (1810;) the Baptist Union, (1814;) the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, (1819;) the Presbyterian Board, having before acted with the American Board, (1833;) the Protestant Episcopal Board, (1835;) American

Missionary Association, (1846.) These organizations came into existence in response to the newly-awakened religious life of the Church, and a consequent recognition of the obligation devolved upon it by the departing words of the Saviour, to make disciples of all nations, (the heathens.) The Church, in its aggregate unity, began to realize its duty in the matter, and individual believers—especially young men called to the ministry—began to feel that the words of the Master were addressed to them personally. By slow degrees, and painfully, the Church came to the conviction that this duty could not be innocently ignored ; and, formally at least, though only very partially in fact, the Church now confesses her sacred obligation to give the Gospel to all men.

But, however fully the Church might have conceded her duty and sought to perform it, there were still formidable and, in many cases, impassable obstacles in the way of the work. Down to the end of the first quarter of the present century only small portions of the nations were accessible to the Gospel. China and Japan were hermetically sealed against all foreigners, and especially hostile to any thing like Christian propagandism ; and India, though largely ruled by Englishmen, was carefully shut up against Christian missions. In these three great pagan empires were comprised not less than six hundred millions of souls—or more than half of the human race—all of which vast mass was, during the next half century, thrown open to the preaching of the Gospel. At the earlier date the attitude of nearly all Roman Catholic governments toward Protestantism, and especially toward Protestant missions, was intensely hostile and intolerant, while to-day the Gospel may be preached in its purity in all these countries with comparatively little interruption from their governments. Formerly it was the law—and it was sternly enforced in Turkey and other Mohammedan countries—that a Mussulman becoming a Christian should be put to death ; but all that is changed, and the Moslem convert is now secure against all legal interference in his new profession. These changes are so great, and indeed wonderful—so far beyond what could have been dreamed of by the most hopeful before they came to pass—that the most active imagination can scarcely keep pace with the actual facts, so as to adequately appreciate this wide-spread

and thorough revolution which has taken place in the political and diplomatic, as well as the social and industrial, relations of the nations of the world ; and in all this wondrous transformation of affairs the Protestant governments have been the principal agents, and their civilization has effectually fashioned this newly inaugurated international policy, so securing every-where the inestimably valuable privileges of religious liberty, which is to the missionary his passport and license to prosecute his evangelistic calling. That this has not been accomplished without the special and potent agency of the Divine Providence is quite manifest, so indicating that the prophetic period—the set time to favor Zion—has indeed come.

And all this appears the more wonderful when the character of the agents and agencies by which it was wrought out is considered. A more utterly godless power than was the East India Company probably the sun never shone upon, which, for the promotion of trade, became the protector and patron of the abominations of Indian idolatry ; but while so engaged it was also laying the foundation for the British empire in India, with its guarantees of religious liberty to all men. A more iniquitous transaction has seldom been known than that of the British Government by which the opium of India was forced upon the Chinese in opposition to the protests of the rulers of that empire ; but, as an incidental result of that diabolical proceeding, China was opened to the world, so giving access to the Bible and the Christian missionary. In like manner the slave-trade, justly characterized as “the sum of all villainies,” is now seen to have been overruled by the hand of God for the furtherance of the Gospel among the millions of Africa. It was not in the spirit of Christ that the ports of Japan were opened, or Italy emancipated, or the Crimean War entered upon, or our own war of rebellion inaugurated, and yet each of these is seen to have been the forerunner of the Gospel, the preparing of the way of the Lord. It has been reserved for the present generation of men personally to witness the most manifest accomplishment of the prophecies concerning the kingdom of the Son of David, the Messiah : “He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him ; and his enemies shall lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish and of

the isles shall bring presents : the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him : all nations shall serve him. Psa. lxxii, 8-11. Science, the arts, commerce, war, diplomacy, are among the mighty agencies by which the Almighty Father is fulfilling his promise to give to his Son the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession. This has been actually done in our day ; and in respect to the outward bestowment, the work is well-nigh complete. It now remains only for the spiritual Israel, the sacramental hosts, to go up and possess the land. Such is the opportunity which God has given to the missionary agencies of his Church, and in the presence of these comes the command to *go forward*.

The practical methods for prosecuting foreign missionary work, now almost universally used, while they have their advantages, and the home Churches are mostly shut up to them, often fail to bring out and utilize some of the loftiest inspirations of the missionary spirit in individuals. It has, indeed, come to be the fashion to depreciate the "romance" of this work ; and yet the history of missions shows clearly that some of the best work ever done in that field has been accomplished under the influence of that specific inspiration. The visions of Loyola, of Fénelon, and of Zinzendorf were elements of real power. It was under such an impulse that Wesley crossed the Atlantic, and driven by it, as his normal condition, Coke literally gave his life to the work of converting the heathen. Carey, Judson, Marshman, Livingstone, and Henry Martin are all examples of this kind of missionary romance, to which list, also, belong our own Cox and Jason Lee, and last, but not least, William Taylor. This, however, must belong chiefly to individuals, and work out its results in personal experiences and activities ; though the Church will do well to give heed to this spirit among those who devote themselves to this work, and to be careful, while restraining its excesses and regulating its impulses, not to suppress its outgoings. There is, indeed, the perpetual danger of falling into a merely perfunctory performance of routine duties in the work of missions, and to the extent that this becomes realized the secret of its power is lost. It is not every practically useful minister of the Gospel that is prepared to become a foreign missionary ; for the zeal that

might avail under the favoring conditions of a pastorate among a Christian people would often prove quite insufficient in the severer exigencies of missionary life. The Churches and Missionary Societies must, of course, follow out their methods of selecting and sending forth chosen young men to perform the work assigned to them, and to draw their support from those under whose auspices they are employed; and no doubt many of these have rendered valuable services, and will continue to do so. But for the highest efficiency in the work, and for the power that shall sustain the heart among the discouragements that are sure to come, other and higher inspirations are required. The Missionary Societies are doing a great and glorious work; and yet it is quite safe to affirm, that very much beyond the utmost of their doings will be needed for the conversion of the world. A higher consecration—much of specifically *soul-saving* power—a more complete self-abnegation—a deeper baptism into the spirit of Christ, than are usually found among Christian ministers, are essential to the assured success of the Gospel with the heathen.

The actual doing of missionary work among a heathen people requires a fair share of practical common sense, tact, and discretion; and because of the wholly different state of things in the new field, from those with which the missionary may be presumed to have been before acquainted, he must find or form other rules of prosecuting his work. A new and strange language is to be learned; diverse and often distasteful manners and customs must be studied; adjustments of one's self to the new conditions and environments are to be made; in short, a complete domiciliation of the man, or family, in the new position, is to be effected. It is not strange that some fail to pass early through this process of *quasi* naturalization, and find their whole stock of zeal for Christ and souls exhausted before they really enter upon their work; and, on account of the manner in which missionaries are selected, it is neither strange, nor indeed to be regretted, that this process of decimation should begin thus early, since it results in the "survival of the fittest" by a kind of "natural selection." It may possibly happen, too, that it will be assumed that until this work of preparation shall become fairly well forwarded, the intended missionary must be only a student. That this is the view actually

accepted in some cases seems to be proved by the fact that, in several recorded instances, ten or more years have elapsed before a single convert was made ; while in other cases numerous conversions have been made by simply telling of Christ and his salvation through the lips of unskillful and unsympathizing interpreters. As the sole business of the missionary is to bring souls to Christ, the sooner he becomes occupied with that specific work the better will it be both for himself or for those whom he desires to benefit. Too long delaying in getting ready to begin cannot fail to be damaging to both parties —to the missionary himself by diverting his mind from his chief business, and to those to whom he comes to preach Christ by reason of their familiarity with him apart from his proper character and function. The chief and almost the exclusive business of the missionary is to persuade men to be saved ; and to accomplish this by the shortest and most direct processes should be his unceasing effort and unchanging purpose. And although for this many agencies and means may be useful, the one all-important and always effective means is the contact of a warm heart with that of the half-awakened heathen.

What are the relations of the work of civilization and that of Christianization ? is a question of very great interest, and one respecting which there has been much diversity of opinion, though experience has brought most minds to a lower estimate of the value of the former in promoting the latter than once prevailed. Keeping in mind the fact, that to make men Christians is the great end of missions ; and accepting the further fact, now abundantly demonstrated, that not much of civilization is required in advance in order to a genuine conversion, it is readily inferred that the value of all educational and civilizing work is at best incidental and secondary, both in time and importance. The process of conversion is itself in some sense civilizing, and yet it is certainly possible that, as the Christian life may be superinduced upon an almost absolutely uncultured soul, so that life may be continued and developed into a blessed fullness with but very little aid from either learning or culture. For some of its purposes schools may be a necessity in a foreign mission ; yet it may be doubted whether our missionaries, going forth from the advanced civilization of their native land, have not carried with them an undue and incorrect

estimate of the value of learning and culture as a Christianizing agency. It is well that men converted from heathenism should be told of the better modes of outward life to which their new religion tends to bring them, and aided in coming into them; but it is more than simply a doubtful policy for missionaries to bestow their labor and money simply for the better education of heathen boys and girls. After conversion, learning, judiciously imparted, may tend to Christian stability, but to the unsaved its results will in most cases be quite otherwise.

This, at least, should be true of all mission schools, that their first and foremost purpose is always to teach the simple truths of religion, with constant exhortations to personal obedience to its requirements—and especially its demands for the "new birth"—making all forms of secular learning entirely secondary and subsidiary. With a community of converts in the midst of heathenism, schools so conducted may no doubt be made to contribute to the interests of religion; but to simply educate a young heathen out of his hereditary heathenism, without his having been brought to experimentally accept Christ, is a work of very doubtful expediency. To have such schools conducted, wholly or in part, by unconverted persons, would seem to be alike absurd and pernicious—a misapplication of missionary funds and labors.

In harmony with this purely spiritual idea of the work of missions is the theory that the conversion of heathen peoples should in no proper sense be made to denationalize them. The promise respecting the extension of Christ's kingdom is that the "nations" shall be given to Christ, and this not simply in the conversion of individuals, however many, but also the nations themselves, each in its aggregate unity. At the beginning the Gospel preached among heathen peoples will naturally seem to be a foreign and alien religion, and that fact is not the least formidable of the difficulties to be overcome. But that idea should be just as rapidly as possible eliminated from the popular conception of its nature and design. The missionaries themselves should not insist too exactingly on continuing every notion and practice demanded by their home civilization, provided nothing morally excellent is required to be laid aside, and nothing at all partaking of heathenish notions or practices

is to be substituted. Probably it is found that, in fact, nearly all those social customs have a close relationship to the national idolatry, and so thoroughly are these permeated by their false and debasing systems of religion, that the Christian convert necessarily becomes widely separated from those about him, and for his spiritual safety it may seem desirable to increase rather than narrow the breach. But to this there must be a limit in respect to the things that involve nothing either moral or religious—dress, language, domestic and social life, patriotism, and purely sectional usages. When, however, any of these are clearly repugnant to Christianity, they must be openly condemned and vigorously proscribed. Accordingly no place must be allowed for *caste*, both because of its positive iniquity and its incompatibility with the exercise of Christian charity; so, too, of polygamy, and of the observance of properly idolatrous rites. It has also been deemed agreeable to the highest Christian expediency to forbid Chinese Christians to compress the feet of their female children, and Hindu parents to contract marriages for their infant children. But in all these cases it should be clearly shown that the prohibition is not in favor of the social laws of England and America, but because it is required by the spirit and the letter of the Gospel. It is, however, more than allowable that the Chinese, or Japanese, or Hindu Christians should continue to be of the people and nation of their nativity. The "world" from which they are called to separate themselves is inward and spiritual, while the best outlook for the Gospel requires the consecration, and not the cultivation, of national life.

The idea of effectually naturalizing the Gospel in non-Christian lands under missionary auspices involves the whole question of a native ministry raised up and duly instituted from among the converts themselves. It seems to have been the practice of the Apostolic Church, in whatever place a company of believers was raised up, to constitute them a church, with a proper set of office-bearers chosen from among themselves, and this was done not only in the cultivated cities of Asia and Greece, but also in semi-barbarous Crete and rude Galatia. The ruling idea, accepted apparently without debate, was that each church should order its own affairs, subject only to the advisory oversight of the apostles, and

also pay its own charges. The consolidation of the churches of whole provinces into dioceses, subject to a metropolitan superintendent, was a growth of later times, for diocesan episcopacy was unknown in the primitive Church. The practice of supporting such churches in their temporalities by some central body is wholly a modern device. Modern missionaries, who have usually been educated in colleges and theological schools, and have carried their ideas with them into foreign fields, have been very slow to believe that recently-made converts from heathenism could be safely intrusted with the high and sacred functions of the ministry. The American Board's missionaries were in India gathering their converts and multiplying churches for forty years before they ordained any of their native preachers, and at last it was done only upon the strong solicitation of a deputation from America; and in the Sandwich Islands the same reluctance was shown, though nearly the whole population had become Christian. In Tahiti the London Missionary Society's labors achieved marvels in the conversion and Christian culture of the natives, and the whole group of islands had become a Christian nation, when, in 1842, nearly fifty years after the beginning of the work, the French seized the island of Tahiti, and expelled the English missionaries. Thirty years had passed since the rulers and people had formally accepted the Christian faith, but not one native pastor had been ordained. But on the eve of their departure the missionaries ordained a number of their ablest native preachers, and committed the churches, under God, to their care. Forty years have since passed, and despite the unfriendliness of the French rulers and the intrigues of the Jesuit priests, not only has the work been maintained, but its progress has been greater than ever before. The case of Madagascar is nearly a duplicate of the preceding, with the additional considerations that the work was not so far advanced when the missionaries were expelled, and the native government itself undertook to stamp out every thing pertaining to Christianity; and yet, during the whole period of a quarter of a century of relentless and bloody persecution, the Church, under its improvised native pastors, not only survived, but multiplied its converts tenfold. These are, no doubt, extreme cases, as to both the reluctance of the missionaries to intrust to their native assistants the complete

functions of the ministry, and to constitute them pastors of the native churches, and also the marvelous success that followed the adoption of the more liberal economy. It may now be accepted as the settled policy of nearly all evangelical missions, based upon abundant evidence drawn from experience, that the early preparation and installation of a native pastorate is among the essential conditions of the largest and most enduring success.

Taught by such examples, as well as following out the genius of their own Church polity, the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church have given special care and attention to the development of a native ministry. In the Protestant countries of northern Europe all their laborers are natives. The same is true of Italy, except only that the Superintendent is an American; and in Mexico, though the mission is of quite a recent date, native converts are becoming each year a larger element in its working force. In South America, for nearly fifty years no native ministry was instituted, and comparatively little success has been achieved among the native population. But in this particular a change of policy has recently been made, with the promise of better results. In India and China the policy of employing native helpers prevailed from the beginning, and, as fast as men could be properly tested, they have been advanced to some of the more responsible positions in the work, and in nearly every case with the most satisfactory results. Such examples as are afforded in the cases of Sia Sek Ong in China, and of Zahur-ul-Huqq in India, sufficiently justify the policy of placing some of the highest responsibilities of the missionary work in native hands; and in older missions to properly heathen peoples; and, as the practical outcome of this policy, the ministry is becoming a native rather than a foreign body. All this has been brought about, not by pursuing a preconceived theory, but rather by following the plain lessons of experience and providential indications. The genius of Methodism favors the free expression of religious thoughts and feelings, and also permits all who can do so to speak freely for the edification of believers and the conviction of unbelievers, and without envying allows all the Lord's people to be prophets. Thus, from the earliest lisplings of newly-made converts; telling, in halting words, but from warm

hearts, of what they had themselves experienced, some have grown to be able ministers of the New Testament, and especially mighty to exhort and persuade their fellow countrymen to receive Christ, while others in humbler positions have rendered valuable and effective service. In the matter of developing an effective native ministry among the heathen our missionaries appear to be doing a most excellent work, guarded at both extremities—here against excessive conservatism, and there against a lack of attention to personal religious character and intellectual furniture. The original economy of the Methodist itinerancy is peculiarly adapted to missionary work among non-Christian peoples. It provides for the use of all grades of available talents in Christian propagandism, beginning with the class-leader and exhorter, and advancing to the local preacher, the assistant minister, and the minister in charge of a circuit comprising many local churches, societies, and classes, by which means a central point or principal church may reach out its influence and impart its benefits to all the adjacent places, so giving them the advantage of the experience and directing wisdom of the best minds and hearts in the whole mission; and the oversight of the presiding elder of the district, made up of several contiguous churches, with their outlying circuits, brings the whole system into a compact and harmonious effectiveness of operations. If indeed the tendencies toward congregational isolation in the home churches is threatening the efficiency, if not the very existence, of the itinerancy among them, it may be hoped that the mission fields may long enjoy its inestimable benefits.

The policy of developing the organic mission Church by means of its own spiritual growth, is bringing the missionary directories face to face with the questions of autonomy and self-support. The inherent right of every church—"congregation of faithful men"—to order its own affairs, subject to the word and Spirit, and to choose their own Church relations, will not be called in question, but experience has shown that mission churches more frequently prefer a state of dependent pupilage than prematurely to ask to be left to care for themselves; and, at the same time, there is often seen a reluctance and distrust as to the ability of such churches to care for themselves. There is, however, but little room to doubt that the best interests of

all parties call for the gradual and not too tardy loosening of the cords which bind the churches in foreign lands to those from which they had received the Gospel; while, as soon as the former can stand alone, an entire governmental separation is desirable; and in respect to the pecuniary assistance given and received, it is quite as likely to be overdone as to be unduly limited. So long as foreign missionaries are kept in the field, charged with a supervisory authority, it would seem only right that they should derive their maintenance from those whom they represent, and these should be an ever-diminishing, rather than increasing, company; but native preachers and pastors should chiefly draw their support from those whom they serve. There are, no doubt, advantages that can be gained only by supplies of men and money from the home Church; but there are also disadvantages arising out of this policy, especially in its tendency to lower the moral stamina of the recipients, and to diminish the manhood and hinder the growth of the best forms of Christian heroism. When to give, and when to withhold, and in what manner in either case, are questions not always easy to be answered, since they are qualified by numerous conditions which cannot, in some cases, be fully understood. It may, however, be accepted, that other reasons than lack of ability in the giver may properly limit the amounts bestowed. The sums of money appropriated from the home treasury are not a just measure of the probable productiveness of any foreign mission; and the examples of Madagascar, and of Tahiti and others of the South Sea Islands, show that a mission, once firmly established, will continue to live and grow without foreign aid, even under the iron heel of persecution. While there is no evidence to justify the intimations, sometimes heard, that missionaries have an easy life of it, and are more careful for themselves than for those whom they profess to care for; nor yet of the still viler charges, that professed converts become such chiefly from mercenary motives; it nevertheless may be that the opposite virtues would be better promoted by a less intimate connection of the foreign and the home Churches.

That it may not be advisable to slavishly follow out any theory in the government and work of foreign missions, but instead, to accept the lessons of experience, is among the plainest dictates of practical wisdom; and these lessons we have, in all needed

fullness and clearness, in respect to some particulars of the highest importance and the widest application. Among these may be named, as tested principles, always to be aimed at—decentralization, autonomy, and self-dependence. Each of these are, indeed, a form of manifestation of the same principle—the development and localization of the Christian life, with all its essential conditions, among the churches formed in heathendom. The adaptability of Methodism, as to both its spirit and its forms, to such churches is also clearly attested, and the maintenance and perpetuation among them of all the essentials of Methodism should be carefully looked after; and to do this effectively, and to the best interests of those chiefly concerned, their local Methodism must be permitted to adapt itself, in its accidents, to the laws, institutions, and the social and domestic life of the people in each country. An ecumenical Methodism is, happily, an impossibility, and any attempt toward its realization could only work harm; and, as its alternative, a national Methodism for each nationality, among which our form of Christianity shall be naturalized, is a necessity in order to its proper and successful development. National manners and customs, as such, and where they involve no sinful complicity with any false religion, instead of being antagonized, should be respected, and the institutions of the Gospel interwoven among them. Each people has its own modes of thought and specific conceptions of spiritual truths, into which the sublime ideas of the Gospel must enter in order to become a life-giving power; and these forms of thought and modes of life will modify the expressions and formal developments of the Christian life, and of these differences there should be a due recognition in all the outward arrangements of the national Methodism. The Bible goes in its completeness to all nations as the sole and sufficient rule of faith and duty, and because it is in its very nature a universal book; but our Church creeds and rituals, and even our methods of conceiving of and stating Christian doctrines, and of coming at Christian experience, are not in their details identical with the same things as they would be developed and crystallized in the spiritual consciousness of men of other nationalities; and these considerations suggest the propriety of allowing and, indeed, of forming, those national differences, and, as far as it may be well and

wisely done, of molding the ecclesiastical polity and institutions of each nationality in harmony with the instincts of the people, and especially of embodying the great truths of revelation into their mental conceptions and religious consciousness. The spirit and life of our theology must be preserved in all its fullness and power, but in order to that end its accidents and local peculiarities should not be too tenaciously adhered to. We have our twenty-five "Articles of Religion," but scarcely half of them are properly theological, and some of these are expressed in apologetical or polemical forms, growing out of their historical development, which could not be appreciated by those who are not familiar with the conditions through which they came into their present shapes. Why, then, should these forms be imposed upon our Christian converts from heathenism? Our "General Rules" have many confessed excellences, but they are only a very small part of a system of practical morality, often descending to local and accidental details, which among ourselves have become antiquated, and which must sound very strangely among the antipodes. Let us, therefore, give them, then, a local, and not a foreign, Methodism.

The probable future of evangelical missions is among the most deeply interesting problems of the age, having also the most tremendous bearings upon questions of theology and biblical interpretation of sociology, and the commonwealth of nations; and, indeed, of the destiny of the race. In the light of the experience of the current century, the progress actually made from very small beginnings, the awakening of evangelical Christendom to a sense of its duty in the matter and of the vastness of the opportunity, the clear indications of the divine will made by the workings of the Spirit, and the orderings of providences, we may see clear indications of possibilities and prospects of the most glowing and assuring character. The Messianic Psalms read in the light of these things appear to be transformed into the records of our times, and some of the grandest visions of the Apocalypse seem to be realized in our sight. Computing the progress of the future, with its enlarged facilities, by that of the past, one may readily reckon up the years that will be required to literally accomplish the divine command to "preach the Gospel to every creature,"

and even the most sober and thoughtful cannot fail to detect in the events of the age most remarkable indications of the coming of great and far-reaching changes in the affairs of the world. The colossal proportions attained by British commerce and diplomacy, the proximate universality of free thought and of its best vehicle—the English language—the appliances in use for the world-wide diffusion of the Gospel by railroads, steam-ships, and telegraphs, and the polyglottal printing-press, all unite to raise the highest hopes for the speedy Christianization of the whole world. The duty of obedience to Christ's parting commandment to "go, teach all nations," remains the same whether in darkness or in light; but to those who have toiled long and wearily in darkness the coming of the dawn cannot but be cheering; and since God is so strangely opening the way for the spread of the Gospel among all nations, the Church is called upon, not only to rejoice in the promises given, but to go forward in assured expectation that the promised day of triumph draws near.

To sober our too sanguine hopes, it may be told us that the Roman Catholic missions of the seventeenth century presented very high promises of success, and in fact showed an inventory of successes actually achieved even greater than any that can be shown by the Protestant missions of the nineteenth. It is known that they baptized tens of thousands of nominal converts in India; that the proselytes made in China and Japan were counted by hundreds of thousands, and that large portions of what is now our own national territory was originally occupied by the Jesuits from Montreal; and yet all these great and promising beginnings were followed by disaster and almost entire failure. At the beginning of the present century nearly the whole of these results had disappeared. Does a similar fate await our Protestant missions? and if not, why not? The Roman Catholic faith has not, in any modern instance, succeeded among any heathen people, except as it has been sustained, and indeed forced upon the people, by the civil power. Their work of conversion stops short of any real transformation of character, and the baptized heathen remained a heathen still, with only an additional fetich and another idol in his pantheon. Without the power of the sword there was no power over the heathen rulers who, jealous of their authority,

maintained their ancestral customs, and resented and punished with expulsion or death those who were attempting to supersede them in their authority. The decay and final failure of those Roman Catholic missions were clearly owing to these two causes, both of which Protestant missionaries have been especially careful to guard against. Their converts were Christians only in name and form, for Xavier himself confessed that there was no improvement in the lives of the converts of the Portuguese missions in Ceylon, and that he had but little hopes of the salvation of any of them, except those who died before they had lost the sanctity received in their baptism ; whereas the chief dependence of Protestants for the perpetuation of their work is in the transformation of the characters of their converts. It is often said that in some of our foreign fields whole villages or tribes come to the missionaries and profess their desire to become Christians, and ask for baptism, which, of course, is not granted without proper evidence of a real and spiritual conversion. To become a Christian on such conditions in any heathen community is therefore a very serious matter, which will be undertaken and persevered in only under deep convictions, and, when so undertaken, with the accompaniment of a newly-begotten religious life, the work may be expected to abide, even should it be tried in the fires of persecution. That it can do so has been proved in the cases before referred to in Tahiti and Madagascar.

The genius and spirit of Protestant missions, by forbidding them to become complicated in any political intrigues, and by teaching them to inculcate peaceful subjection to the established political authority, is the best possible guarantee against political proscription. As political rulers come to understand that Christianity is not a revolutionary power, in respect to polities and dynasties, but that it every-where inculcates due subjection to authority, it will secure the favor and protection of the civil rulers. That fact, together with the influence of commerce and diplomacy in favor of religious liberty, and greater still, the liberalizing influence of the spirit of the age, seem to afford a sufficient assurance that the Protestant Churches that have been or may be planted in heathen lands will not be ruthlessly crushed out by the hand of persecution.

It would lead us beyond our limits should we attempt to

discuss the special and distinctive character of the Christian Church as it may be developed by missions among the heathen; and yet a few passing remarks may be ventured. There is ground to believe that the Church so formed will possess some conditions of advantage over most of the Churches of Protestant Christendom. Nearly seventy years ago that wonderful preacher of the Gospel, Rev. Robert Hall, in delivering the charge to a young minister about to go forth as a missionary to India, used language that has lost none of its fitness or adaptation by the lapse of time. He exhorted the prospective missionary to seek to have his mind and heart in the closest sympathy with the spirit and substance of Christian truth, without very closely insisting upon any of its specifical forms as taught in the schools of doctrine. His words are: "Among the indirect benefits which may be expected to arise from missions, we may be allowed to anticipate a more pure, simple, apostolical mode of presenting the Gospel, which it may be doubted whether any of the various denominations under which the followers of Christ have been classed have exhibited precisely as he and his apostles taught. In consequence of the collisions, of disputes, and the hostile aspects which rival sects bear to each other, they are scarcely in a situation to investigate truth with perfect impartiality. Few or none of them have derived their sentiment purely from the sacred oracles as the result of independent inquiry; but almost universally from some distinguished leader who, at the commencement of the Reformation, formed his faith and planned his discipline amid the heat and fury of theological combat. Terms have been invented for the purpose of excluding error, or more accurately defining the truth, to which the New Testament is a stranger, and on those terms associations and impressions are ingrafted which, in some instances, perhaps, little correspond to the divine simplicity of the Gospel."

These words, uttered at first in warning, have since become prophetic of a better day, which is already in part fulfilled. The implied censure of the theological thinking of Protestant Christendom has come to have less cause for its use than formerly, but still it is not wholly uncalled for, but the theology of the more fully developed foreign missions is evidently an improvement by reason of its nearer conformity to scriptural

statements, and its greater breadth and simplicity, its spirituality and catholicity. And as the artificial landmarks that at home divide the various schools of theological thought sink out of sight when Christians of different family names stand together in the presence of the overshadowing forms of falsehood and unbelief, so in that position ecclesiastical lines of demarkation lose very much of their value and significance. It is scarcely to be hoped—perhaps it is not desirable—that all denominational differences should be ignored, and the several missions fused into a common mass; but surely it is not wise to reproduce in foreign lands all the petty feuds or historical divisions that have given rise to many of our denominations, most of which are represented in the mission fields. It would not be edifying to converts from heathenism to be confronted at their coming into the fellowship of the Church with the sixteen kinds of Presbyterians, or the half as many of Methodists. In this matter something of the fusing power of true religion, directed by a fair share of common sense, might be practically useful. When the Methodisms of our foreign mission fields shall become locally individualized, it may be hoped that they will also be consolidated into a common mass.

ART. VII.—POPULAR AND PERILOUS DRIFTINGS.

COULD some influence appear potent and persuasive enough to draw the half of all young people into thorough acquaintance, by actual labor, with different branches of agriculture, (whatever business or profession they might follow in after life,) and lead the other moiety of our sons and daughters to become, after full apprenticeship, skilled artisans, such influence would grandly restore to the land physical soundness, moral integrity, and prosperities richer and wider than can be well imagined. Nor would such lives of early discipline and every-day work at all prevent (in my opinion) the noblest achievements by every generation in science, literature, and art.

Unhappily, the prevailing sentiment of society, and the average training in excellent families, tend in very different directions. Insomuch that the popular currents are drifting

widely away from lives of frugal industry, from the labor of producers, from vigorous health,* and from the virtuous simplicity and solid home-content of other days. These downward driftings not only result in enormous material wastes and mischief, but are, as I judge, undermining public morality and the safety of the State.

Note 1. *Driftings of Population from rural districts to crowded centers.* It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that in 1850 the population of cities and large towns throughout the Republic was but 23 per cent. of the whole; that is, 3,131,675. In 1870 these large centers contained 34 per cent., or 7,841,950; and in the national census, just completing, our three hundred cities will probably number 40 per cent. of the entire people of the Union. New York State census gives as the increase of rural population from 1865 to 1875, 28,082; increase in cities and villages during the same decade, 843,000—thirty times as many.

Not to overlook the fact that cities contain many noble, princely philanthropists, and very many devoted Christian men and women, still, the best thing we can say is, "Cities contain much that we love, and all that we hate." They are vast mission fields. They are centers of expensive luxury; the restless and the dissatisfied naturally drift there. The daringly ambitious, those who live by excitements and would dwell in a crowd, seek such homes. Cities are always chief nurseries of sensualism, and hiding-places of every crime.

A broader view of this drifting of populations is seen by taking census reports of *cities* in six States, as compared with the *rural* districts in those States, for the twenty years ending with 1870:

In Massachusetts, City population increased 82 per cent. Country, 29 per cent.				
New York,	"	108	"	15 "
Pennsylvania,	"	120	"	10 "
Ohio,	"	108	"	11 "
Indiana,	"	540	"	58 "
Illinois,	"	579	"	166 "

Among the results of this drifting, through large portions of New England and New York are: Gradual disappearance of

* The last State census instructs us that births in native-born families, as compared with births in foreign-born, are as *nine* to *eleven*. That the death-rate yearly of native-born Americans is 1 in 88; while the death-rate of our people born in Canada, Scotland, Germany, is only 1 in 125.

moderate farmers, the best strength and surest reliance of a free State, the gathering of large masses of land into one holding,* and the multiplying all about us into controlling power a foreign-born tenantry, seldom friendly to Christian Sabbaths, free schools, temperance, and Protestant freedom.

It is but a few years since that great British commoner, John Bright, sought to awaken his countrymen to the mistake and danger of crowding into cities, instead of spreading among the rural districts, and to the neglect of agriculture. His advice was, "Go back to the land." And the time has fully come when voices in high places of our country, giving the same earnest advice, should be heard. For if these driftings continue the twenty years to come, as during the twenty years past, (certainly, unless there shall be wide and thorough cure of drinking habits and suppression of liquor traffic,) the gathered masses of incurable poverty, lawlessness, and desperate crime in our cities will be beyond control of any civil power in the land.

Note 2. Driftings away from Productive Industries to genteel employments and well-paid sinecures. The great body of young people, including those of prudent families, even, grow up with utter aversion to the most ancient and honored employment of tilling the soil, or to making themselves proficient in the essential handicrafts. Very few children of American parents are apprenticed to become skilled mechanics, as they were fifty years ago. While the numbers who devote themselves for a living to speculations, wandering agencies, and scurvy politics, are legion. As a consequence, society is every-where pressed beyond measure with a host of

* The greed for land is like the greed for gold; and schemes of the rich to monopolize all desirable localities, choicest sections of the soil every-where, (which Congress ought long ago to have forbidden as to public lands, and measurably prevented,) have already become a serious evil, even with our vast and thinly-settled territories; more so in the new States, of course, than in the older. Hundreds and thousands of immense farms are being caught up, of 500, 1,000, 10,000, 20,000, and even 50,000 acres, notwithstanding legislators can be hardly supposed ignorant of the truth, that mischief to the Republic, and grave injuries to the people, come soon or later through the ownership of large masses of land in the hands of a few families. The Roman historian, Pliny, does not hesitate to declare that great estates had ruined his country: "*Latifundia perdidere Itaiam.*"

superfluous and expensive members.* The professions of law, medicine, insurance, merchandising, are twice filled. Every position of clerk, salesman, book-keeper, common-school teacher, commercial traveler, or other opening to light and well-dressed employment is watched and waited for by scores of hopeless applicants.

The following extract from the "Scientific American" is a specimen fact of hundreds that might be gathered:

A large shoe manufacturer of this State, not long since, advertised widely for twenty-five shoe-fitters to work in his factory, offering full current rates and steady work. The advertisements brought one application. About the same time a Boston firm advertised for a book-keeper, and the next day's mails brought two hundred and thirty answers. During the same month an advertisement for a clerk in a Detroit paper brought one hundred and twenty applications, and more afterward. An advertisement for a week in the same city for a good carpenter brought only four replies.

What the country wants now is *workmen*—sober, intelligent, thrifty workmen, who can do skillfully the work that waits for the doing. Men who can invent new means and better processes for developing the resources of the land, and for converting crude matter into life-sustaining and life-enriching wealth. Clerks and record-keepers are at a discount; there are too many. The professions, so called, are almost equally crowded with men who have nothing to do. There never was a time when ability to *do* something real and practical was worth so much as now. †

This extract following, addressed some years since to the men of New England, is severe, but contains weighty and wholesome truth:

* There is an admonition in Holy Scripture ending thus: "Behold this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her, and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy." That is, the cities of the plain lived in luxurious and sensual ease, leaving many to want and suffer by the side of the very rich; neither did their rulers protect or redress the wrongs of the weak and poor.

One who loves his country can but shrink from declaring how far all this is a picture of the favored and large classes in American life.

† It is stated in the public prints that A. Oakey Hall, of New York City, (formerly a leading politician,) when rich, and there was no apparent need for his family, did the creditable thing of training his three daughters to three different mechanical trades. He is reported to have said: "If German and French princes are taught trades in case of change or misfortune, why not my children?" Mr. Hall is now understood to be poor, but his children are comfortably provided for, independent.

Young men, on entering active life, find the way to lucrative employments blocked by abuses. The conduct of trade is grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders, if not beyond the borders, of fraud. The trail of the serpent reaches into all the lucrative professions and business practices of men. . . . Considerations of this kind have turned the attention of many philanthropists and thoughtful parents to the claims of manual labor as part of the education of every young person. If accumulated wealth is thus tainted, no matter how much of it is offered to us, we must consider if it were not the nobler part to renounce it, and put ourselves into primary relations with the soil and nature; and, abstaining from whatever is dishonest and unclean in each, take up bravely his part, with his own hands, in the manual labor of the world.

Note 3. *Driftings into Debt.* We all know that there is immense wealth, not only in New York, but throughout New England and the Middle States. No doubt there are ten men in our metropolis who could easily pay the municipal and corporate indebtedness of the whole State, should this amount to three hundred millions of dollars. And there are also ten men in each of our large cities who could, in thirty days, discharge what may be called the public debts of city and county, (running into millions,) and remain possessed of ample wealth. This opulence of the few may be substantially affirmed of very many cities and towns. Still, the great middle class—the farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, the working men and women—are resting under mountain loads of debt. Nor has the immense losses by shrinkage of values, waste through bankruptcies, and moral injuries, that came upon the land from 1870 to 1877, cured its extravagance, wild speculations, or mania for going in debt.

The truth is, our country's financial affairs are fast drifting into Old-World conditions. A few persons of unlimited wealth monopolize the great industries of the State; are sure to gain possession of every new enterprise of profit, thus subjecting the masses to a deepening dependence on their will, (excepting, indeed, those who work their own farms;) they hold public men in such bondage as often to control the government; and have already brought affairs to a pass that half a dozen men in Wall Street and Chicago combine and go far in compelling millions to pay *their* prices for bread to eat and fuel to warm.

The State debt, proper, of New York is but a few millions

—less than eight. Our national war debt is now sixteen hundred millions of dollars. The country owes Europe (chiefly England) several hundred millions for borrowed money, merchandise, and luxuries. And it is noteworthy, that by as much as the war debt is being diminished through present large revenues, even more are the heavy importations of foreign goods increasing our debts abroad.

Municipal and bonded indebtedness of the twenty-eight cities of New York may be set down at two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Census reports make the total bonded obligations of three hundred cities, in all the States, five hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars.

But embarrassing debts are every-where. Farming towns and small villages are in many cases heavily bonded. The higher institutions of learning and associations of benevolence are, most of them, crippled and incessantly begging for relief. Hundreds of Christian churches have been deeply dishonored by debts mainly incurred for costly edifices. And how many ten thousands of farmers there are whose homesteads are hopelessly involved, we can but guess.

It is not forgotten that during the past two years very many millions of public and private debts have been paid. But even these obligations have been, in part, only *shifted* from societies, institutions, corporations, to the shoulders of generous men, whose subscriptions and notes, in *final discharge* of debts, are yet to be paid through installments of successive years.

There are two serious facts respecting public debts and long-time bonds that do not seem to have been well considered, namely :

First, that about one third of the population do the work, pay the taxes, and provide the charities of the whole State. Allowing one third of all the people to be found in helpless and dependent childhood, with the very aged poor and other classes of incurable destitution, there remains, as what may be called the *working force* of the State of New York, three and a quarter millions. But, according to the last State census, "Persons engaged in all occupations, of both sexes and of all ages," are scarcely so many as seventeen hundred thousand, leaving above a million and a half who, it would seem, ought to support themselves, as visibly earning nothing, and owning

nothing.* This will be an improbable statement to some; but it is substantially confirmed in the "National Census Reports," just now completed, as Mr. Shackleford, of North Carolina, showed on the floor of Congress, last winter. Only one half the working force of a State, according to official data, have any occupation, or earn any thing! It will certainly be in the thought of many that schools of learning, Christian churches, and eminent civilians, ought to secure a more hopeful standard of civilization than this.

A second fact, too little thought of by taxpayers, is the amount of money required to pay bonds running many years, with annual or semi-annual interest. Such debts grow double with unthought-of rapidity. To illustrate: there are small cities in New York—and many, if we are rightly informed, at the West—heavily bonded, generally for railways. I know of one such city, bonded for half a million in thirty-year bonds, bearing seven per cent. semi-annual interest. These, at the end of ten years, will practically cost the people a million; at the end of twenty years, two millions; at maturity, or in thirty years, the bonds will have cost taxpayers four millions of dollars!

The three hundred and odd cities of the republic are reported as having bonded debts to the amount of five hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars. If these run, on an average, twenty years, with six per cent. annual interest, (which is a fair probability,) they will actually cost the people little short of two thousand millions of dollars!

* The following summary is based upon the detailed facts of official Census Reports, and is, no doubt, approximately the truth. Population of New York, 5,000,000. Children under twelve, and persons over seventy years, 30 to 35 per cent. This leaves a working population of at least 3,250,000. Of these, farmers and farm laborers are not quite 450,000; manufacturers and mechanics, nearly 600,000; in trade and transportation, 350,000; in personal service, say 250,000; the four learned professions and public-school teachers, 50,000 to 60,000. This aggregates, in round numbers, (to use the official language,) as "persons engaged in all occupations, of both sexes and all ages," 1,700,000; and, making liberal allowance for the dangerously sick, the deranged, blind, idiotic, and imprisoned felons, leaves 1,500,000 in the State who, so far as census officers can discover, have somehow a free ticket through life at the expense of others.

Another consideration, evidencing that the great middle classes support society and the government, is found in the fact that taxation is so arranged as to compel real estate to pay above 80 per cent. of the whole; while personal property, money, stocks, bonds, and other investments of hoarded wealth, pay but a fraction of what they ought.

Note 4. Driftings into Crime. The commission and spread of crime are far more largely traceable to want in early years of frugal, steady work, of some thorough trade-education, than has been generally understood. It is not so much ignorance in school learning that ripens depravity into theft, robbery, and murder, as many suppose; and though the influence of strong drink in exciting to the worst deeds is very great, still it is not clear but that lack of early habits of industry, and thorough acquaintance with some useful business or trade, is the ruin of as many as any other one cause.*

The following statistics from the "Christian Union" of October, 1878, are admonitory and striking:

Of 408 convicts in the Michigan State-Prison, seventy-two per cent. are, or were, addicted to the use of liquor; but sixty-two per cent. had no trade. Of 489 prisoners in an Iowa penitentiary 305 are without any trade education. In Minnesota prison are 235 convicts; at least 130 of them never learned any business. In the large State-prison of Illinois, of 1,500 criminals, one third had no regular occupation before commitment. In the Penitentiary of Western Pennsylvania are 396 convicts, of whom 310 never learned a trade, but sixty-two per cent. of whom were addicted to liquor drinking.

In the year ending November, 1881, there were sentenced to Onondaga Penitentiary, from this and neighboring counties, 995 criminals. Of these, 120 were from twenty different mechanical trades: while of "laborers, domestics, tramps, hostlers, and boatmen," there were 674. I think this a fair representation of the convicts of all State-prisons. The New York Board of State Charities says:

By far the greater part of convicted criminals have never been educated in any branch of useful industry. They hence enter the competitions of life at a disadvantage—inferior or incapable—and must occupy the avenues which are already filled, while there is room enough for those who, by thorough apprenticeship, possess professional or mechanical skill. In the struggles for livelihood these others are pushed empty-handed to the wall; left without employment, without money, having no alternative but to beg or steal.

* A New England pastor sought, not long since, to ascertain and to make known what kind of early training furnishes the most prosperous and honored men. To this end he carefully inquired into the early lives of *eighty-eight* prominent business men in and near Springfield, Mass. It was found that *seventy-four* of these had been brought up poor, in hard work, and most of them on farms.

The person who has no trade, thorough early acquaintance with some business that brings honest bread, lives frequently by choice in idleness. Not taught to work in youth, he will not submit to the restraints of steady labor in riper years. And where do such almost inevitably drift but into places of drink and gambling, into companionship with vagabonds and felons?

In the preceding paper I am not sure but that incidental statistical errors and partial reasonings may be found; though pains have been taken to keep quite within lines of ascertained truth. However this may be, the reader can safely conclude that there is given a substantially just outline of our present type of civilization; and it will not be doubted that this whole subject deserves the profound consideration of philanthropists and statesmen, and the very serious study of all who are intrusted with the guardianship and training of sons or daughters.



ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, April, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. The Hill Tribes of India; by Prof. John Avery. 2. Indian Migrations, as Evidenced by Language; by Horatio Hale. 3. Native Races of Colombia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 4. The Somme Implements, and Some Others; by S. F. Walker. 5. The Potlatches of Puget Sound; by M. Eells. 6. Mythology of the Dakotas; by S. R. Riggs. 7. Village Habitations; by S. D. Peet, Editor. 8. Specimen of the Chumeto Language; by A. S. Gatschet. 9. Relics in Maine; by Charles B. Wilson. 10. Editorial—Idols and Portraits.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, May, June, 1883. (Cincinnati.)—1. Some Phases of Theology in the "Paradise Lost;" by W. H. Stifler, M.D. 2. Some Impressions of Swedenborg; by W. N. Clarke, D.D. 3. Liberty and Toleration; by Rev. P. S. Evans. 4. The Correlation of Christian Doctrines; by S. F. Smith, D.D. 5. Professor Samuel S. Green, LL.D.; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 6. A Study in the Atonement; by S. Graves, D.D. 7. Modified Calvinism; or, Remainders of Freedom in Man; by Augustus H. Strong, D.D.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1883. (Andover.)—1. Certain Legal Analogies; by Rev. Francis Wharton, LL.D. 2. The Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch, by Prof. Edwin C. Bissell. 3. The Position and Character of the American Clergy; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 4. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 5. The Preaching to the Spirits in Prison; by Rev. S. C. Bartlett, D.D., LL.D.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, April, 1883. (New York.)—1. Inspiration; by Prof. George T. Ladd. 2. The Recent Scientific Philosophy of Society; by Prof. Benjamin N. Martin. 3. Miracles and Their Place in Christian Evidence;

by Prof. George P. Fisher. 4. The Genesis of the Idea of God; by Prof. Francis L. Patton. 5. The Lamp of the Body; by Jesse B. Thomas, D.D. 6. The Antiquity of Man Historically Considered; by Prof. George Rawlinson. 7. The True Mount Lebanon—the Name an Index to the Place; by the Editor. 8. Proceedings of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1883. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Liturgical Question; by F. W. Conrad, D.D. 2. The Ultimate Ground of Knowing and Being; by Pres. David J. Hill. 3. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper; by J. G. Morris, D.D. 4. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament and the Textus Receptus; by Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, A.M. 5. Biographical Sketch of Rev. A. D. Rowe, A.M., the First Children's Missionary to India; by Rev. Jacob A. Clutz, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, May, 1883. (New Haven.)—1. Three Eras of Religious Life in America; by Rev. J. W. Backus. 2. The New England Meeting-House; by President Noah Porter. 3. The "Dr. Grimshawe" MSS.; by John Addison Porter. 4. Recent Theories of Wages; by Professor J. B. Clark. 5. Bacon's Promus; by Charles H. Owen, Esq. 6. Rothe on the Atonement: translated by Rev. George B. Stevens. 7. Is Death an Accident? A Metaphysical Inquiry; by Rev. H. A. Stimson. 8. The Conscience; by Rev. John M. Williams.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1883. (Boston.)—1. William Cogswell, D.D.; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder. 3. Bristol Records; communicated by Rev. James P. Lane. 4. Patterson Family; by Hon. John R. Rollins. 5. Edward Randolph; communicated by G. D. Scull, Esq. 6. The Forgery in the Adams Pedigree. 7. Will of James Haines or Hindes, of Southold, Long Island, N. Y., 1652; communicated by A. M. Haines, Esq. 8. Passengers and Vessels that have Arrived in America. 9. Braintree Records: communicated by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 10. Soldiers in King Philip's War; communicated by Rev. George M. Bodge. 11. The Bacons of Virginia and their English Ancestry; by Charles Hervey Townshend, Esq. 12. Names of Captives at Lancaster, 1676; communicated by Henry S. Nourse, Esq.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, June, 1883. (New York.)—1. American Manufacturing Interests; by Joseph Nimmo, Jr. 2. Present Aspects of College Training; by President D. C. Gilman. 3. The Abuse of Citizenship; by Edward Self. 4. Herbert Spencer's Facts and Inferences; by Prof. Isaac L. Rice. 5. A Few Words about Public Singing; by Christine Nilsson. 6. Incidental Taxation; by William M. Springer, M.C. 8. The Moral Influence of the Drama; by Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley, John Gilbert, A. M. Palmer, and William Winter.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1883. (New York.)—1. Can Americans Compete in the Ocean Carrying Trade; by George F. Seward. 2. The Future of Turkey; by Canon George Rawlinson. 3. The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Light of Recent Psychology; by Henry N. Day, D.D. 4. Personality and Law—The Duke of Argyle; by Mark Hopkins. 5. Co-operation in the United States; by R. Heber Newton. 6. The Dawn of the English Reformation; by James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1883. (Macon, Georgia.)—1. Horace Bushnell; by J. H. Carlisle, LL.D. 2. Matter and its Phenomena; by President George T. Gould, D.D. 3. Prohibition and Temperance; by Walter B. Hill, Esq. 4. Methodism Positive Christianity; by Rev. John B. Robins. 5. Ancient Greek Education; by Professor O. H. P. Corpew, A.M. 6. The Bible Epic: Messiah; by Rev. R. J. Bowman. 7. Dr. David Livingston; by A. S. Andrews, D.D. 8. Jesuitism; by Rev. F. M. Edwards. 9. Bishop J. O. Andrew; by Rev. W. J. Scott.

In the hands of the new editor, Dr. Hinton, our Quarterly, South, attains a new and, we trust, better era. We have no longer in the editorship the politico-ecclesiastical bitterness of

Dr. Bledsoe, nor the intense pro-slavery sectionalism of Dr. Summers. The editor, though flinging in an occasional sectional and obstructive utterance, reveals a sympathy with the Young South. In this Quarterly the names of the authors are fairly given; but as they are not, we are sorry to say, given in the table of contents, they may often fail to appear in our Synopsis.

We specially note in the present number the admirable article on "Bushnell," by President Carlisle; "Prohibition and Temperance," by Walter B. Hill, Esq.; and "Bishop Andrew," by Rev. W. J. Scott. Mr. Hill's article is a powerful document, and indicates that our Southern brethren are marshaling rapidly and bravely in the temperance cause.

The blemish of the number is the article on the venerated Bishop. Its denunciations of the Abolitionists are precisely parallel to the ravings of the rumsellers at the temperance men. We give a specimen or so of its howls. The first is the following historic untruth regarding the Northern delegates in the General Conference of 1844: "These men, whose sires had waxed fat on the traffic in human flesh, were now in hot pursuit of Bishop Andrew for the sin of slaveholding, not by purchase, but by inheritance. To this deep-mouthed baying of the Boston kennel there was added the shrill cry of Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart from the other hostile Conferences."—P. 332. There was not, we may safely say, ever a New England Methodist, or a New England Methodist's father or "sire," who bought, held, or sold a slave. If there were men in New England who did hold slaves, how were the antislavery men of New England responsible for their crime any more than Mr. Scott is responsible for the rumsellers in his State? The first war of the New England antislavery men was against slavery and slave-trade in their own States, and they abolished both. If any of the slave-dealers or holders sold their slaves when emancipation was accomplished, how were the Abolitionists responsible for that? Surely Mr. Hill's mouth is not closed from denouncing drunkenness in this Quarterly because there are rumsellers and drunkards in his native section? Mr. Hill probably imagines that that is the very reason why his mouth should be wide open. And just so thought Northern abolitionists upon the slavery question. Howl the second sounds as follows: "The

Moloch of antislavery fanaticism must be appeased at the expense of justice and every other cardinal virtue of heathen and Christian morality. It was done by the tyranny of a *mob*, or else by the ruling of a star-chamber tribunal."—P. 332. Rum-sellers would say, "the Moloch of total-abstinenee fanaticism." Why was antislaveryism a "Moloch?" Did it raise an auction block on which human beings, sometimes handsome young mulatto girls, were sacrificed to the highest bidder? Did it forbid education of its victims in order that they might be brutalized into total subjection to their oppressors? Did it ever keep a bloodhound to chase the footsteps of the helpless fugitive? Did it ever subject its kidnapped victims and their offspring to the driver's whip, lashing them to toil, and then appropriating the income? O no! It simply proclaimed liberty to the captive, asserted the rights of humanity, maintained the truth of the first sentence of our Declaration of Independence, and demanded the peaceful emancipation of four millions of native-born Americans from that despotic system that "spared not man in its cruelty nor woman in its lust." No; it was that system, the slave-power, which was the true Moloch, the Moloch of which Mr. Scott is the imbecile worshiper and infamous apologist. As for "mob," the mobs were all on the other side. The so-called "abolition mobs" were really pro-slavery mobs, raised to crush the abolitionists. With the exception of abolition rallies, made to rescue the innocent fugitive from Southern slave-catchers and kidnappers, there were no real "abolition mobs." Howl third is as follows: "In the course of a memorable debate on the American Crisis, he [Edmund Burke] stated that the Southern Colonies were more ardently and stubbornly attached to liberty than those to the northward. Furthermore, let it be proclaimed in Boston and published in the streets of Philadelphia, that Burke attributed this to the fact that, like Greece and Rome, they were slaveholding communities." Very well. Let it be proclaimed the world round that the slave-holders were earnest maintainers of freedom—for *themselves*, and the still more earnest maintainers of slavery for others. They were enthusiastic champions for the freedom to bind the fetter and flourish the whip upon their kidnapped victims. Howl fourth (too prolix for our quotation) parallels the secession of the Southern delegates from the Gen-

eral Conference of 1844 with the secession of the Free Church of Scotland. The two unquestionably are parallelisms in that both were secessions, but they were contrasts in the causes for which the secession took place. The former was for religious freedom; the latter was for secular slavery; and the latter, as some would say, finds a more suitable parallel in the secession of the angels that kept not their first estate. Next to the cruelty of Mr. Scott's onslaught on abolitionism is that of his eulogy on the good Bishop; and it is agonizing to see that venerable man slavered over with such an overflowing gush of relentless bombast. We trust that this Quarterly will live long decades, and its bound volumes be deposited in many a library; and our worst wish for Mr. Scott is, that he may live to re-read his tirade with shame and ingenuous repentance. Nevertheless, in most cases Bourbonism can only die with the Bourbon, and in such event the disburdened world has good reason to ejaculate a hearty "good riddance" to both. It is right to say, that in the several pages added on the same subject by the editor we find a very different spirit, with the main of which we agree, and see no demand for inaking an issue where we differ. And here we note that so long as fierce pro-slavery leaders like Scott issue their manifestoes in the highest periodicals of the South the Methodist Episcopal Church is needed there. And it is not only a Negro Church we need there, but a body of white churches who will be a pillar of moral support for the advocates of the New South.

This Quarterly contains a full critical notice of *Dr. Miley's valuable volume on the Atonement*, a volume which, we are pleased to see, attracts a decided interest among our Southern theologians. The critic speaks of Christ's "punishment," and holds it to be defensible from its voluntary undergoing. He does not seem to recognize that the real objection is not merely to the justice of such "punishment," but to its *possibility*. The punishment of the guiltless is a solecism, in thought and word and thing; as axiomatically absurd as a *round triangle*. You can no more transfer one being's guilt or moral character to another than you can his personal identity. I can be no more guilty of another man's sin than I can suffer his headache. The making Christ literally guilty, a sinner, in order that he can be said to be punished, is an appalling fiction. An

innocent man can indeed voluntarily endure *suffering* in order to prevent by substitution a guilty man's punishment; but the *suffering* of the innocent is not *punishment*. If Damon die for Pythias' crime, Damon is not thereby a criminal, a rebel; neither is he guilty, nor is he punished. But we are sometimes told there are two meanings to the words *guilt* and *punishment*; one where they are *real*, and the other where they are *imputed*. Undoubtedly, if you import into your words an esoteric theological meaning, unknown elsewhere in language, you can say the innocent is guilty, and the sufferer is punished. By special definition any thing can be truly affirmed, even a *round triangle*. You can have an innocent guilt and a guilty guilt, just as you can have a white black and a black black. But what is the use of introducing such an elaborate bungle into our theological language? When you say that guilt is not real, but only imputed, you actually deny that there is any genuine guilt. What do we gain by such verbal quirks and quirklings but the power of uttering to the public ear statements that are offensive to the moral sense and common sense of mankind? And the final gains are disgust, skepticism, and hatred of the Gospel of Christ. Away with such paltering equivocations in our theology, remembering that by its very etymology our *orthodoxy* is a *straight doxy*.

HEBREW STUDENT, May, 1883. (Chicago.)—1. The Authorship of the Fifty-First Psalm; by Rev. P. A. Nordell. 2. The Little Book of the Covenant; by Prof. C. A. Briggs. 4. Notes from Abroad; by Rev. John P. Peters. 4. General Notes: The Relationship of Christianity to Judaism. 5. Prepositions of the Verbs Meaning to Believe or Trust; by Prof. F. B. Denio.

The "Hebrew Student" is the organ of a very interesting movement in Old Testament scholarship. It is in connection with an Institute of Hebrew, the purpose of which is to rouse an interest in Hebrew studies through organized action; to furnish instruction in Hebrew, both by a correspondence system and a Summer Hebrew School; to make provision for furnishing Hebrew books at cheapest rates; and to sustain a periodical, ten numbers a year for one dollar, devoted to the publication of articles from able pens, both American and foreign, in the department of Hebrew literature. The whole movement is worthy the highest encouragement. It furnishes valuable aids for all who wish to commence, or to perfect themselves in, the language of Moses and the prophets. The articles of the peri-

odical are delightful reading for enthusiasts in the sacred tongue. Our ministers generally who take our Quarterly may be safely advised that their one dollar will be a paying investment.

In the present number the first article, on the Authorship of the Fifty-first Psalm, maintains very conclusively its Davidic source. This psalm undergoes a vigorous assault from the Robertson Smith school, who find its Levitical character too clear to be allowed so early a date as David, and so maintain it to be, of course, "post-exilic." The second article aims to show that Moses' Little Book of the Covenant has a parallelism with the Decalogue. Next, Dr. Peters' Notes from Abroad put us in very interesting communication with the biblical scholarship of Germany.

Whatever future effects may result from the theories of Wellhausen and followers, their present influence is to awaken a deep interest in Old Testament investigation. There is no dozing just now over the ancient records. The editor is confident, as we are, that the outcome will be auspicious.

From the editorial department we give the following reminder to investigators of the value of the "traditional" opinions, both Jewish and Christian :

CRITICISM AND THE CANON.—Has Biblical Science the right to re-examine the historic foundations of Christianity and re-test the Canon of Scripture? Without a doubt. But in this process of re-examining and re-testing, has it also the right to reject entirely the traditional testimony of the Church to the Sacred Books? To this question the arrogant spirit of the extreme modern Criticism gives an affirmative answer. Happily there are those who deny this right. *Van Oosterzee* says, "As concerns the Canon of the Old Testament Scriptures, the Christian Church received from the Jews, *yet not without critical investigation*. Melito of Sardis and Origen made accurate investigations among the Palestinian Jews as to what writings belonged to the Canon, although, along with these, a certain value was attached to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. To the question (then raised) whether it was wise, generally speaking, *to rely on the Jewish Tradition*, an affirmative answer seemed justified, for this Tradition itself was the fruit of a critical examination made at the time of the close of the Old Testament Canon, and assuredly not without earnestness and conscientiousness. As to particular details, the accuracy of this critical judgment of antiquity is, perhaps, not to be defended against every possible objection. But well may it, with grateful appreciation of the help of a thorough Isagogics, regard

the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as a whole, as authentic sources of our knowledge of *Divine Revelation given by Moses and Prophets*. The position which Christian Theologians, in the spirit of the Reformation have, therefore, to occupy in relation to the tradition which gave to the Church its Canon, is already defined, in principle, by what has been said. It is not that of *blind dogmatism* which, at once, begins to submit, unreservedly, to the authority of tradition; and just as little is it that *lofty criticism* which attaches to the utterances of tradition no essential importance, but that of a truly independent, impartial, and patiently conducted investigation." To the same purpose are the profound observations of Martensen: "As Holy Scripture is the Canon for the *Church* only, it is manifest that a necessary reciprocity must continually subsist between it and ecclesiastical tradition. By the transmission of the Church, Scripture has been handed down to us, and the Church it was that collected the Books of the Canon, as they are in living use at the present day. We cannot, indeed, look upon our traditional Canon as a work of inspiration, yet we cannot but recognize the fact that the ancient Church had a special call to this work, and that this collection of books—which has obtained unanimous recognition in the most contrasted quarters of the Church, and thus has received ecumenical ratification, has been determined under the guidance of the Spirit who was to lead the Church, according to her Lord's promise, into all truth. To deny that the early Church performed this task, is to deny that the Scriptures, given by God, have the power to claim for themselves admission and recognition in the Church."

What is worthy of note is, that, notwithstanding doubts expressed here and there, by a few individuals, the uniform result of all critical sifting of the Canon leaves it practically untouched. It was the result of the Jewish search, the result of the early Christian search, by men who knew the use of language, the result of the Reformation search, the "*Quinque libri Mosis*" being a part of the Word of God, and the result of the Westminster search, as is shown by the writings of their divines. Whatever liberty is accorded to the later criticism, it does not yet appear that this foundation of the past, laid by such giant intellects, ceaseless toil, and careful investigation, can be essentially affected. While asserting, therefore, the right of Biblical Science to a free, untrammeled, and reverential criticism of the historic grounds of the Canon, we may approve the remarks cited above. There is an inseparable relation between the Canon and the true tradition. It will not do, in determining the Canonicity of a given book, to employ a single rule, viz., the Testimony of the Spirit and subjective application of saving truth, nor to rest solely upon tradition. Does the book claim for itself authority? Is the claim well supported by the composition itself? Has the book generally been so regarded? Has it the sanction of Christ or of one of the New Testament writers? All these questions must be answered.

Criticism, which has to do chiefly with the second, has no right to announce as infallible a decision which has been reached without an impartial consideration of all sides of the question.—Pp. 279, 280.

The following extract, also from the editorial, furnishes a very compact survey of the whole field of discussion. By reading the parts of the Old Testament in the order of the “scheme” here given, the student will see what kind of an Old Testament Canon the new reconstructors would give us:

THE ORDER, PROPHETS, LAW, PSALMS ; INSTEAD OF LAW, PSALMS, PROPHETS.—There are those who would have us believe that the traditional arrangement of the literature and history of the Old Testament must be entirely reconstructed. Supposing the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, they are perplexed to find his legislation “followed by a period of about five centuries of comparative barbarism, during which a highly organized nation has fallen into a loose federation of clans, an elaborate ritual with a jealously exclusive official clergy has been superseded by a crude and uncouth cultus presided over by an irregular and personal priesthood, and the trained strength of a disciplined army coextensive with a victorious nation has disappeared, leaving the oppressed Israelites dependent upon flashes of individual and undisciplined valor for even temporary relief from their sufferings.” It is equally difficult for them to comprehend the sudden change from the “wild and barbaric virtues and vices of the period of the Judges to the marvelous spiritual depth and maturity of the Psalms,” it being impossible, as they view the matter, for the hero “who stood with one foot in the period of Gideon and Jephthah (to say nothing of his own doings and beliefs) to have composed those portions of the Old Testament which stand nearer than any other to the feelings and aspirations of Christianity.” And then, after two or three centuries, during which not even the “faintest after-vibrations of David’s harp are to be heard, they are startled by the apparition of the prophets—true sons of the earth, in the freshness and verve of their appeal, speaking like men whom a sudden sense of what should be has startled and horrified by its own contrast with what is, and who turn in all the passion of new-born conviction to force the truth upon a heedless or astonished world.” Nor, finally, are they willing that Israel should be without a history during the five hundred years from Malachi to Christ. To be relieved of these difficulties a new scheme is suggested. Instead of “Law, Psalms, Prophets,” they propose “Prophets, Law, Psalms.” According to this reconstruction the arrangement of Hebrew literature will be briefly as follows :

1. *The Prophetic Narrators*, by whom were written those portions of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, which may be described as most graphic, pathetic, and picturesque; e. g., Gen. ii, 5-iv, 26; vi, 1-8, etc.; the legislation of these Narrators is to be found in Exod. xxi-xxiii, 19, known as the *Book of the Covenant*; about the end of the 9th cent.
2. *Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah* (i-xxxix). 8th cent.
3. *Deuteronomist*, in whose writings is to be found a marked advance upon the legislation of the Narrators. This includes among other fragments, Gen. xv, xxvi, 2-5; Exodus xiii, 3-16; xx, 2-17; all of Deut. except a part of chaps. xxii and xxxiv, and some portions of Joshua. This code was introduced by King Josiah in the revival which followed the idolatrous reigns of Manasseh and Amon. 7th cent.
4. *Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah* (xl-lxvi). 6th cent.
5. *Book of Origins, or Priestly Code*, partly narrative, chiefly legislative, marked by two characteristics, love of system, and devotion to ceremonial observances. This includes, together with large portions of Gen., Exod., Num., and Deut., all of *Leviticus*. 5th cent.
6. *Psalms*; a few perhaps go back to the 7th, but the most of them must be assigned to the 5th-2d cent.

And now, we may well ask, upon what ground this reconstruction is based? The answer is, *internal evidence*. There is no external *for* it, while it may be said emphatically that there is external evidence *against* it. This point is touched by Dr. Peters in the "Notes from Abroad" of the present number. He says truly that "internal criticism is proverbially unreliable when without all external corroboration." Two important items, therefore, viz., the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, militate against any theory assigning so late a date to the Pentateuch and to some of the Psalms. Another serious question is found in the attitude of the New Testament writers. We cannot deny that the traditional view is attended with difficulties which in some cases seem inexplicable; but we believe that this proposed reconstruction involves far greater difficulties. If, however, we were prepared to rule out the supernatural, to deny the existence of prophecy, to count as of no weight the words of the Saviour, there is so much in this theory of the plausible, that we might be tempted to adopt it.—Pp. 280-282.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (Philadelphia.)—1. A Limit to Evolution; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S. 2. Socialism; by Rt. Rev. James O'Connor, D.D. 3. The Chapelle Des Martyrs, and the September Massacre; A Relic of the Revolution. 4. The Catholic Church and Popular Education; by William J. O'Conor. 5. How Church History is Written; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D. D. 6. The American Hierarchy in Its Three-fold Source: Three Representative Bishops; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 7. Jasper in the Apocalypse the Symbol of the Primacy; by Rev. Walter D. Strappini, S.J. 8. Lawlessness and Law in Ireland; by Bryan J. Clinche. 9. Mr. Mozley's Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement; by John Charles Earle, B.A. Oxon.

No writer has better shown the reconcilability of a modified evolutionism with biblicism than Dr. Mivart, the author of the first article in this able Quarterly. His book, "The Genesis of

Species," published soon after Darwin's "Origin of Species," checked the extravagances of "Natural Selection," and obliged Darwin himself to retract. Excellent works have since appeared; but even now we should probably recommend that volume as still the best statement of a tenable middle ground.

In the present article Dr. Mivart maintains, in an extended psychological argument, that the mental difference between animals and man is not of mere degree, but of kind, and so great as to forbid the conclusion that the former could evolve the latter. Brute thought is mere perception of the object without power of abstraction or classification; and the individual perception or sensation is followed as a mechanism by the action. Hence the brute does not intellectually infer, and does not reason. But man is capable of abstraction and classification, and so can reason. He thereby attains the idea of *Being*. It is this that constitutes man. And whatever the *shape* of the animal possessing such power, he would be truly human.

This is, perhaps, a satisfactory argument. And yet the materialist might say that all mind or thought is the same in kind, and that he does not feel called upon to concede that higher organization of brain may not unfold from brute instinct to human reason. The argument is only good for the biblicalist himself, as furnishing justification for assumption that man comes into existence by a special pulsation of divine power. And thereby the following statement is justified: "But if rational beings may have arisen in the world thus unobtrusively, it may well be, on the other hand, that the Miocene chippers of flints, however well endowed with sense perceptions and practical imaginations of means adapted to ends, were destitute of the idea of 'Being,' of the powers of analysis and synthesis, and of the power of recognizing classes as such—in a word, may have been but brutes. Their chipping actions need have been nothing more than a further extension of those sensitive faculties by which brutes pursue an escaping prey, jump on mounds, or climb to reach what is out of reach, prepare stakes for their dam, as does the beaver, or employ a stone to crack a hard nut, as does that common ring-tailed monkey, the sapajou—actions such as those before described as being performed to complete a harmony which the imagination craves."—Pp. 219, 220.

Mr. Dawkins seemed involved in dilemma by the French

affirmation of the existence of Miocene flint-chippers. On the one hand they were as Miocene earlier than the high mammal age, and on the other hand the admission of their production by higher apes invalidated the derivation of any chipped flints from human hands. Why, then, might not all the palaeolithic flints be chipped by apes as well as the Miocene?

Allowing some force to Dr. Mivart's psychological argument above, we still prefer, at least, to add the solution derived from the old Church view of the threefoldness of man's nature, which he has himself so well illustrated in former publications. Sharing with other animals a body derived from earth, and a *psyche* derived from divinely animated nature, his *pneuma* is in-breathed from above, and constitutes both his immortality and his capacity for the conception of the infinite, and so of his immortality. For the conception of infinity, as seen in duration, becomes immortality; as seen in space, becomes immensity; as seen in being, becomes God. And this whether the materialist allows it or not. And then we comprehend the reality of the tradition of the transcendent Edenic origin of man, attested by both the Bible and the consensus of ethnic antiquity, which Evolutionism is bound to respect.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. Dr. W. Robertson Smith on the Prophets of Israel; by Prof. W. H. Green. 2. The Marbles of Ancient Rome; by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D. 3. Co-Ordination of Grace and Duty. 4. Moravian Missions; by the Rev. Charles G. M'Crie. 5. Luke, the Beloved Physician; by the Rev. Robert M'Cheyne Edgar, M.A. 6. The New Hebrides Mission and the Polynesian Labor Traffic; by the Rev. John Inglis.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. James Clerk Maxwell. 2. The Development of River Conservancy. 3. The Letters of Synesius. 4. Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel. 5. The Antiquity of Man. 6. John Fletcher. 7. The Holy Spirit between the Resurrection and Pentecost.

This is a superior number of this excellent Quarterly, unsurpassed by any Review of the quarter.

James Clerk Maxwell, the subject of the first article, was the equal in science and the superior in varied abilities and acquirements of Faraday, Tyndall, Agassiz, or Huxley. He was born in Edinburgh, 1831, and died, "alas! for us too soon," in 1879. He was a devout Christian and a model man. Elected

to a Professorship at Cambridge, his presence and work created an impulse in that ancient University. Some of his utterances in defense of divine truth have a permanent value at the present day. Especially pertinent in the theistic discussion is the following affirmation of the "manufactured" character of molecules:

In the heavens we discover by their light, and by their light alone, stars so distant from each other that no material thing can ever have passed from one to another; and yet this light, which is to us the sole evidence of the existence of these distant worlds, tells us also that each of them is built up of molecules of the same kind as those which we find on earth. A molecule of hydrogen, for example, whether in Sirius or in Arcturus, executes its vibrations in precisely the same time. . . . No theory of evolution can be formed to account for the similarity of molecules, for evolution necessarily implies continuous change, and the molecule is incapable of growth or decay, of generation or destruction. None of the processes of nature, since the time when nature began, have produced the slightest difference in the properties of any molecule. We are therefore unable to ascribe either the existence of the molecules or the identity of their properties to any of the causes which we call natural. On the other hand, the exact equality of each molecule to all others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschell has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent. Though in the course of ages catastrophes have occurred, and may yet occur, in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn. They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight; and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him who, in the beginning, created not only the heavens and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist."—P. 16.

If the authority of Herschell and Maxwell, then, are sufficient to establish the "manufactured" quality of molecules, we seem to have a refutation of the ancient dogma of the eternity of matter, and a demonstration of both its creation and its adaptation to the purposes of a created system. Have the maintainers of theism sufficiently appropriated this primordial fact? Do they not too carelessly allow the atheist to assume the eternity of the "laws" of matter, and thence deduce the

formation of the cosmic system by laws without a law-maker? And so Chalmers conceded that the argument for God must be based, not upon the existence of laws, but upon "the collocations of matter" into an intellective system. And, before him, Kant maintained that the design argument proved, not a Creator, but only a Formator. But, one by one, theistic defenders seem coming without conscious concert to the more basal ground. Professor Winchell, as we noted in a former Quarterly, argues Deity fundamentally from the nature of force, showing him to be the originator of matter. Professor Cooke, of Harvard, in his *Religion of Chemistry*, argues divine Design from the laws of chemical action, finding God to be the founder of an intellective system of primordial laws, by which the intellective system of the universe assumes form. Dr. Hill, as noticed in our last Quarterly, finds mathematical laws selectively and discriminatively imposed upon nature. Herschell and Clerk Maxwell find the very shape of the molecule imposed upon it, rendering it, as it were, a manufactured *brick* in order to the building of the great edifice of creation. Here, then, we have the chapters for one treatise of Primordial Theism, combining Winchell, Cooke, Hill, and Maxwell, proving God to be not only a Formator, giving shapes to masses of pre-existent matter with its eternal laws, but a Creator of matter, and an Imposer of its laws, *in order to* the production of the intellective system of creation. The atheist is thus deprived of his capital at start. He cannot assume matter and its laws to make his world. The design argument lies back of both.

The article on "The Antiquity of Man" is honorably distinguished by its acknowledgment of American facts and authors on the subject. It admits that Southall and Dawson have effectually rolled back the tide of Sir Charles Lyell's *uniformitarianism*. America has not, indeed, affirmed any difference in the intrinsic nature of physical force; but she has shown overwhelmingly that physical forces have at various periods acted with most stupendous *catastrophic* violence. The calculations based on uniform rates of action are terribly demolished. And then the antiquities based on stalagmite and peats are invalidated. The following questioning of the human origin of the flint implements threatens another blow: "No one can distinguish man's work from those which are the result of

accident. Blake's patent stone-breaker, for instance, gives flint flakes just like the 'prehistoric' ones. Mr. Callard clearly inclines to the notion that the flints are not artificial; Professor Gaudry, on the contrary, followed by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, suggests that they may have been the work of some anthropoid ape, though (as has been shrewdly remarked) no existing apes, not even one of those who use stones for cracking fruits, has ever been seen to make or use a flint flake."—P. 115. And on a further page it is said: "Concerning the Abbé Bourgeois' flints from the mid-miocene strata at Thenay, which were shown with so much confidence at the last Paris Exhibition, Professor Gaudry (*Les Enchainements*, p. 241) suggests, as we said above, that they may have been the work of the great anthropoid ape (*dryopithecus*) then living in France; and, in answer to the sneer that apes nowadays do not make stone implements, Mr. Dawkins remarks: 'It does not follow that the extinct apes did not do so, for some extinct animals are known to have been more highly organized than any of the living members of their class. The secondary reptiles possessed attributes not shared by their degenerate tertiary successors. The *deinosaurus* and *theriodonts* had structural peculiarities now only met with in the birds and the mammalia. In the same way some of the extinct higher apes may have possessed qualities not now found in any living species.'"—Pp. 121, 122. The pre-Adamite man seems to be a somewhat vanishing quantity. Nevertheless, Sir John Lubbock (witness his late Presidential Address) is as tall and undismayed as ever. He never heard, apparently, of Southall and the western hemisphere. And we may here add that the failure of the flint implements would demolish Mr. Abbot's New Jersey pre-Adamite, as well as George Frederic Wright's argument based upon him.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. The True Character of the Pilgrim Fathers. 2. Welsh Education and the Established Church in Wales. 3. Notes on the Reign of Charles II. 4. The Late Bishop Wilberforce. 5. Shakespeare's Immortals. 6. Muratori. 7. Thought and Speech. 8. The Future of English Politics. 9. The Political Survey of the Quarter. 10. Contemporary Literature.

In the Article on "Thought and Speech" we have the following passage on the problem of the formation of the complex forms of inflection and syntax by the early human races:

Among the most remarkable phenomena which are presented by language we must count the inflections and grammatical forms. These follow laws constructed often with great skill, by virtue of which laws the language obtains immense facilities for recording changes of thought. Language is by no means a series of isolated sounds proclaiming isolated notions: it is a system of speech wonderfully provided with instruments, whereby the various relationships which these notions bear to one another can be shown. We thought just now of the words *dico*, *dixi*, *dicere*, etc., only as a group of sounds which contained within them a common idea. But when we look closer at the members of the group, we see that each contains, in addition to the common root sound, the inflection which is full of meaning also. Only in this it is not a meaning of the same kind as that expressed by the root; it is not an idea, but the relationship of an idea to others. The terminations *-o*, *-si*, (in *dixi=dicsi*,) *-ere* contain within them notions at once the most intangible which we can conceive, and the most necessary, if speech is to be a language of reason and not a mere expression of outward sensation. For reason only begins when we can bring things into relationship with one another: grammatical forms and syntax have been the means which all languages employed for expressing the relationship of things. And again, in much the same way that (as Kant has shown) our ideas of things, though infinite in number, so soon as they are considered by reason and in relationship to one another, can be brought within a certain limited number of categories; so in language, however many words there may be, these are all found to be brought under a limited number of grammatical forms. Now what human foresight could have pre-arranged all this wonderful machinery for assisting the reason and almost for demonstrating to the reason how limited the number of its judgments could be despite the infinite diversity of human sensations? The greatest intellect the world has ever produced would be, it may safely be said, incapable of devising a grammar, were no such thing in existence. How, then, does grammar come into being? How do we find grammar not among the cultivated races only, but among quite rude savages, such as some of the African tribes? and find here not an elementary grammar only, but a complex and scientific one. Nothing can be imagined more elaborate than the grammar of our far-away Aryan ancestors, who, if they had learnt the art of plowing, had not learnt it long. Which would be the easier to build, a grammar such as that, or a house with four stories? And yet it would seem that they had the first and had not yet achieved the second. How can such a discrepancy be explained? The closer we look into the real significance of grammatical forms, the more do we see that to appreciate the fact that they all express identical relationships would require a degree of intelligence far beyond the capacities of any ordinary man. In fact, the growth of grammar is simply a mystery which we cannot account for if we limit the intellectual

agency in the world to the intellectual activity of men. Here, if anywhere, is the evidence of an intelligent design in nature.—Pp. 420-422.

The Spinozan explanation is, that language grows or crystallizes out of man as leaves from a tree by natural spontaneity. And nearly that seems the Mosaic view, by which man develops into a speaking linguist as the objects pass before him. Shall we explain the clean-cut differences between different systems of language by their being cleft asunder at Babel?

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. Mission Work among Lepers in India; by Wellesley C. Bailey, Esq. 2. Brahmoism: The Adi Somaj; by Ram Chandra Bose, Esq. 3. Self-support in the Native Church; by Rev. J. E. Scott. 4. A Question of the Future—Christian Organization in India; by C. E. G. Crawford, Esq. 5. Union of Christians in India; by Rev. J. S. Chandler. 6. Review of the General Decennial Missionary Conference, Calcutta, 1882-83; by Rev. J. P. Ashton, M.A. 7. Hinduism in Opposition to Christianity, as seen at Benares; by Rev. John Hewlett, M.A. 8. The Existing Marriage Laws as they Affect Europeans and Native Christians; by Rev. W. T. Sathianadhan. 9. What is Holy Matrimony? by the Editor.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Third Number.—*Essays*: 1. BACMEISTER, The Question of the Moral Order of the Universe. 2. WENDT, Use of the words ἀληθεία, ἀληθῆς, and ἀληθινός, in the New Testament. 3. BLEIBTREIN, Romans iii, 21-26, etc. *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. WEISS, The Question of the Gospels. 2. BEYSCHLAG, On the Preceding Article on the Gospels. 3. KOLDE, Order of the First Evangelical Service of Nuremberg. 4. USTERI, Supplement to the History of Baptism in the Reformed Church. 5. WETZEL, Alpheus and Klopas. 6. NESTLE, On Usteri's "Original of the Marburg Articles." *Review*: HARTMANN, The Religious Consciousness of Humanity in the Order of its Development; review by Dorner of Witteberg.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE, (Journal for Church History.) Vol. IV, No. 1. — *Investigations and Essays*: 1. DRÄSEKE, Double Conception of the Pseudo-Justinian words, Ἐχθεσις πιστεως ἡτοι περι τριάδος. 2. UHLHORN, The Beginnings of the Order of St. John. *Analecta*: 1. LÖWENFELD, The Homilies of Saint Cesarinus. 2. MÜLLER, Documents and Manuscripts Concerning the History of the Conflicts among the Minorites in the first half of the Fourteenth Century. 3. SCHNEIDER, A Document of Gregor's von Heimburg. 4. Miscellanea and Book Notices.

In "The Journal for Church History," Uhlhorn gives us a good deal of interesting information in the article on the early history of the Knights of the Order of St. John, which acquires much of its significance, and, doubtless, its publication at the present period, because of the late revival of that famous Order

of the days of the Crusades. The controversies about the beginnings of the Order are now of less import than the prospects of a future, and to these we will devote a few words. After many good and some bad deeds, the Order was finally dissolved in 1811 while in the hands of a Prussian commander. For a long time it had lost its significance, and ceased to pay attention to the sick and needy. The remaining members of the Order found their own personal pleasure in the enjoyment of the livings from possessions of the guild. These latter were finally confiscated by the State, and the Order indefinitely dissolved. King Frederick William IV. was greatly interested in the Holy Land, and found pleasure in reviving whatever might tend to its development in the future. As these knights in the earlier times had done valiant work in the hospitals, and even on the field, in Palestine, this king saw an opportunity of resuming it with the view of regenerating the land. Accordingly, in 1853, he re-established the German Chapter, and made the recently deceased Prince Carl, brother of the present emperor, Grand Master of the Order. This noble gentleman took up the matter of reorganization with great zeal, and closely devoted his entire energies to the good cause. The rich possessions of the Order had been scattered to the winds, and he began with 548 thalers, collected at the assemblage gathered to witness the installation of the new Grand Master. This petty sum showed no enthusiasm in the crowd, and the whispered words pronounced the affair a farce, and out of time and place. But the enthusiastic Prince Carl has made it a grand success in its best spirit. When he was laid away to his rest a few months ago he left behind him an Order numbering 2,087 members, of various grades, and in various parts of Germany no less than 34 hospitals and pest-houses, containing in all 1,397 beds. The Order had also established a hospital at Beirut, with 63 beds, and one in Jerusalem in the old hospice on the Via Dolorosa. Much of this work was done with his own means, and most of the relief afforded to strangers was given voluntarily, asking money only from those who were able to give.

These modern Knights of St. John the Baptist are in this way extending their good work over the Orient, and are acting in most instances as curators of the institutions which they

found, employing the deaconesses as nurses and dispensers of charity to the communities around them. They are peculiarly devoted to the work of relieving that portion of the poor outcasts of the East who else are left to suffer and die alone and unattended, namely, the epileptic and idiotic, and the lepers. They were particularly active in Syria during the persecutions of the native Christians in 1861, and have left permanent hospitals in Beirut and Sidon. In the German wars in 1864, '66, and then with France in 1870, '71, they founded a sort of Christian Commission, and their little mustard-tree grew to great proportions.

In all this work the now-deceased prince was at the front, and despised not the most menial offices to the sick and wounded soldiers, and during the last famous war his brother, the emperor, noticed and favored his work right loyally. In March, 1878, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the restoration of the Order, his majesty addressed to his brother an autograph letter closing with these words: "The review of this period presents to me a gratifying picture of noble and humanitarian effort. It is, indeed, a work of beautiful Christian love, whether amid the misery and sufferings of war, or in times of peace among the many poor and needy without distinction of nation or creed." On this same occasion the members of the Order addressed very affectionate words to the Commander, thanking him for the fidelity displayed in this Christian charity, so largely owing to his energy and Christian zeal. And the very last lines written by the prince himself was a letter addressed to the Crown Prince and Princess on the occasion of their silver wedding, telling them that his contribution was the founding of a new hospital bearing their name. When it reached them he had departed, having finished his work on earth as a veteran brother of the hospital, and a servant of the weary and heavy-laden.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) February, 1883.—1. Bœgner, Godet's Commentary. 2. Leliévre, The Huguenot Psalter, (continued.) 3. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations, (continued.) 4. PUAX, Travels in Scandia. Literature of the Period, and Monthly Review, by Pressensé.

March, 1883.—1. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations, (continued.) 2. SECRÉTAN, The Relations of Art and Morals. 3. DECOPPET, Literary Notices. 4. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Review of the Month.

April, 1883.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Gambetta. 2. X., In Africa. 3. SABATIER, Literary Chronicle. 4. BEAUSSIRE, Report to the Academy of Sciences. 5. NYEGAARD, English Chronicle, Literary Notices by X. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

As will be seen from the above programmes, Naville returns again and again to the subject of liberty of religious associations and possessions, showing how deep is the feeling on the part of the French Protestants in regard to the interference of the state in matters of religion. They are daily becoming more decided in their convictions that the liberal or atheistical authorities of France and Paris have overshot the mark in their dealings with the various religious orders. Naville does not hesitate to condemn in the most decided terms the seventh article of the so-called "Ferry Laws" aimed at the Jesuits; the law that was rejected by the Chambers of the period, at least by the Senate, and then put into execution by the zealous minister on the basis of a law of the revolutionary period of 1790, which had never been repealed. We can do no better than to give Naville's own treatment of this subject in order to show the earnestness and directness with which he proceeds:

"In March, 1880, Minister Ferry issued two decrees, one of which suppressed the Jesuits, and the other ordered all the Congregations to demand the authorization, which would be granted or refused as the government should judge fitting. As there is here no question of the right of property, it is the religious life in common which is submitted to the good pleasure of the government. We may remark here that in France, as in Switzerland, the Jesuits have been the occasion, and in part the pretext, of measures taken against religious communities. It is easy to perceive in the polemics that have taken place in these matters, that the attacks have been habitually directed against the disciples of Loyola, so as to cause a great part of the religious population to forget that all religious orders were attacked indiscriminately. If the Jesuits have to

account, not only for their own faults, but also for all the misdeeds of their adversaries, and of which they have been the occasion, their task will be heavy. They are accused of teaching the maxim that the end justifies the means; it would seem, almost, that the political chiefs who declare themselves their enemies would wish to expel them in order to retain a monopoly of this procedure.

"As to the attacks relative to the moral character of the teaching of the Jesuits, attacks which, in certain cases, and for a few, are unfortunately but too well justified, one listens to them with respect from the mouth of Pascal and the recluses of Port-Royal. But these attacks, coming from the disciples of Voltaire, who are supposed to be acquainted with the writings of their teacher, would excite a smile if one were permitted to smile about so grave a matter. The hatred toward the Order of Jesuits, often genuine and serious, seems also, especially in the case of certain political leaders, a shield which conceals designs more vast than those which are confessed. The Jesuits teach an adulterated religion, but they do teach a religion; and in many cases it would seem that they are attacked more because of the religious element which they preserve and propagate than because of the adulterations which they have introduced. Such, at least, is the opinion of one of my countrymen, a man of heart and mind, who, though a Protestant, does not admit that all means are legitimate as soon as the task is to fight the Church of Rome."

Now to us these are very sad words, coming as they do from the pen of one of the purest and most zealous of the Protestant champions in the present crisis in France, and they do but voice the common sentiment of masses of people in France, namely, that the atheistical leaders have indeed stolen the livery of heaven with which to serve the devil. But, we feel bound to say that Naville has greatly magnified his office, and becomes, in some passages of his articles, which, by the way, would make a fair-size volume, the veritable defender of the Jesuits and the religious orders in his great desire to get even with his antagonists, who, in throwing hot shot at the guilty, have injured many who are innocent.

The national sentiment in France is one great obstacle to the establishment of full religious liberty. At the close of the

conflicts of the sixteenth century the nations of Europe were separated by the diversity of the faiths which they had officially adopted. France and Austria became Catholic countries, while England and some parts of Germany became Protestant states. Religion thus came to form an essential element of nationalities which was not the case in the Middle Ages. Many Frenchmen find it difficult to admit that France can cease to be officially Catholic, as there are not a few Englishmen who will not admit that a Catholic can be a true Briton.

The April number of the Review contains a very fine article on Gambetta, that has found its way to translation and general circulation in this country. It is a little unusual to look for this defense of the fast-and-loose statesman from Pressensé, and this vigorous and bold fighter has had to defend himself for it both at home and abroad. The German religious periodicals are particularly severe on him for much that he says of his hero in his relations to the Fatherland; and he returns with interest the hard blows that he receives. We would enjoy the controversy better if we could divest ourselves of the conviction that Pressensé defends Gambetta in his "religion of revenge" from national prejudice more than from solid and unbiased judgment. We are quite inclined to lay down the proposition that no Frenchman can be just to Germany in the matter of the late war. Contrary to the plainest proofs of history, the French, and all Frenchmen, persist in maintaining that the war was forced upon them, and the country ruthlessly invaded by savage hordes whose main delight, after murdering innocent non-combatants, was to steal all the clocks and bric-a-brac that came in their way.

But the weakness of Pressensé is that of his nation in this regard, and he does not hesitate to beard the lion in his den in the persons of all his countrymen who are now waging war against religion and good morals in their insane attacks on all religious and social organizations. He has recently done a noble thing in Paris in offering to meet all atheists and religious or anti-religious cranks of all shades, and discuss with them in open assembly of their own followers the respective merits of the Christian religion in comparison with their soulless doctrines. He went, therefore, unattended to a noisy assemblage of several thousand of the most stormy of the Parisian

demagogues, collected in a common ball-room adorned with red flags and cockades, and statues of the goddess of liberty adorned with the Phrygian cap. His account of his adventures in this turbid and boiling sea is highly interesting.

The assembly was in a stormy mood, but with rare exceptions the authority of the platform was respected. It was on the whole strangely susceptible, for it applauded the most opposite opinions. To-day it is in favor of extreme "free thought," although it is easy to perceive that atheistic materialism has not yet taken very deep roots, for it vibrates to every generous word of an opposite sense. After some heated accusations against the Sermon on the Mount, as recommending idleness, to which was given in reply the text of Saint Paul that "he who does not work should not eat," Pressensé ascends the platform, and is welcomed by the crowd, who admire his courage in appearing among them on such a bootless errand. His discourse is not entirely free from interruptions, and some of his assertions call forth violent clamor, but he is permitted to go on until the end, and even receives applause for some passages of broad Christian doctrine. He reminds the assembly that the most illustrious representatives of independent science declare that matter is one of the most obscure mysteries, and as no natural force can explain the production of life, he insists on the moral proof furnished by the conscience of the existence of a divine God. A voice exclaims: "Have you ever seen God?" "No, because he is invisible; but I have felt him, and heard all the voice of my conscience reproach me in his name for any evil deed that I have done. I pity those who do not hear this voice; you will hear it some day." These words were received in silence, and the speaker closed by showing them the destiny of the Republic and liberty if they did not obey the God of conscience, who is also the God of the Gospel; and left to the meditation of the assembly the words of Mazzini to the Italian working-men: "Apart from God, whence will you derive the law of right? Without God, whatever may be the system on which you lean, you will be obliged to acknowledge that there is naught else than blind force." Such words, to so wild and turbulent a crowd, were heroism; and the fact that they were quietly received was a genuine victory for a Christian hero.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE BELGIAN CLERGY AND THE SCHOOLS.

THE most bitter conflict now being waged in all Europe is that between the Belgian clergy and the state in the matter of the primary schools. A few years ago the state determined to make elementary instruction secular and universal, as far as possible, and especially to put the schools into an acceptable condition by means of new and practical modes of teaching that could only be obtained through secular and professional teachers. From the very first step in this direction the priests have opposed the movement with all their influence, even to the extent of establishing every-where schools of their own, and forcing with all the authority of the Church the parents to send their children to the parochial schools to the detriment of the state primary schools. In this they have succeeded so well that they claim now that they have many more children in their schools than are to be found in those supported by the state; and an article to that effect has been going the rounds of the general press.

A few months ago the Belgian Chambers felt it necessary to do something to stem the tide of this baneful and obnoxious opposition to the endeavors of the authorities for the public good, and finally appointed a Commission of Inquiry to make an exhaustive examination into the whole affair and report to the Chambers. Said commission commenced their labors with the Province of Brabant, and thus far they recently reported. And this report shows conclusively the pressing necessity of the work undertaken. The facts brought to light seem simply incredible, and have appalled and exasperated the liberal portion of the nation. The commission accuses the priests of the most downright falsehood in word and deed in relation to all their movements, and declares that they have gotten possession of the local press in all the rural districts, and by means of it and the authority of the Church have introduced a veritable reign of terror among their ignorant and superstitious flocks. And never since the Church and the State have been in conflict in this country has such an annihilating blow been dealt out to priestly power as in this "*Enquête Scolaire*" presented by the commission.

The result, therefore, of this first inquiry proves its necessity and appropriateness. And the Ultramontanes in the Chambers saw so well their defeat beforehand that they absented themselves from the session, and made no effort to defend themselves from testimony that would certainly bring the blush to their cheeks. Their policy has been from the first to protest and deny; this they still continue. We will endeavor in a few words to give the substance of the proceedings, from which, even for us, many lessons are to be learned. The chairman of the commission reported the testimony of ear-and-eye witnesses from

about seventy cantons. About five thousand witnesses were examined under oath, and though the Ultramontanes made the universal plea of denial, they had no success in proving it, and indeed did not even try so to do. So bad were many of the cases brought up that the local priests would feel quite as uncomfortable in having the matter brought to Rome as to Brussels. And the chairman of the commission, in his eloquent speech, summoned the party of the Ultramontanes and the priests before the house and the nation to answer for the spirit of rebellion and discord which they had sown broadcast in the land. "You have broken family ties as well as long-standing friendships and business relations. And as we have traveled over the country, and closely observed the sorrow and sufferings brought upon the people by the priests, we here publicly declare that not only individuals, but the entire Belgian clergy, have violated all their patriotic, moral, and Christian duties, and we appeal to the Ultramontane party for a speedy end to this unholy effort. The facts that we present cannot be gainsaid; will, therefore, the party of the Center identify itself with the clergy? Or will it not rather take upon itself the responsibility of making such representations to the Episcopacy that this body will put an end to these persecutions of the people? This party must now take position for or against the state and the people."

"METHODISM IN GERMANY."

This is the heading of an article in one of the recent issues of the leading organ of the Evangelical Alliance in Germany, and it will, doubtless, be of interest to our readers to know at least the substance of it in order to see the way in which this important question is treated by the more liberal Christians of the Fatherland—premising the remark that we cannot, of course, expect the "Lutheran Churchmen" of the land to notice the movement with any thing else than disgust.

"At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Basel the Methodist missionary work in Germany was discussed, mainly by members from Wurtemberg, Baden, the Rhine, and North Germany. In view of the complaints made by the state clergy, which were contested by the Methodists present, a request was presented to the Anglo-American Committee that the Methodists active in Germany might regard the parochial arrangements, and refrain from establishing congregations in Evangelical Church territory. The same subject has been discussed in several publications, mainly by Dr. Christlieb, in his monogram on the 'The Methodist Question in Germany,' and the reply to it by Professor J. P. Lange, of Bonn. Dr. Lange denies the right of Methodists to prosecute their work within the limits of the State Church parishes, and complains that modern Methodism contains much that is unsound and foreign to the German style of Church order and Christian life. Dr. Christlieb, for his part, exposes the defects of our Church life, the weakness of our large parishes, and the shady side of our ecclesiastical processes in the State Churches, on the one hand, and on the other presents the light

side of Methodism, and its influence and successful activity in England and America and the foreign missions; while he at the same time defends the Methodist missionaries against the complaints raised concerning them with testimonies of their peaceful and ecumenical disposition from the mouths of the Methodists themselves. Dr. J. G. Pfeiderer speaks in the same sense in his 'Pictures of American Travel.'

"'The Evangelist,' the organ of the Episcopal Methodists in Bremen, discourses in regard to the two last-named publications as follows: 'We are glad to perceive that the opinion of our activity in Germany within the parish territory of the State Churches is growing more calm, and assuming a less passionate form. And in the same paragraph the assertion is made that the Methodists come among us with no special message as to baptism, etc.,' to the members of other congregations, but preach only the central truths of Christianity, and make no effort to proselytize the members of other Churches. A full defense of Methodist methods may be found in a little work from the pen of the Methodist Episcopal pastor, Mr. C. Weiss; and here we emphasize the fact that the missionaries in Germany are not Americans, but native Germans. Now it is doubtful whether the actual practice may always be in accord with these announced principles. For it seems to us impossible for Methodists to work in our midst without in some measure loosening the bonds of our own members. But we are not, therefore, inclined to think that their presence is prejudicial, though we would prefer that they should work merely as evangelists, and not endeavor to found new and independent Methodist churches among us.'

A NEW EGYPTIAN "FIND."

The indefatigable Professor Maspero, Director of the famous Museum for Egyptian Antiquities near Cairo, is again before the scientific world with some new treasures of great importance to the Christian scholar. He has just made a new "find" near Thebes. He has unearthed one of those so-called grotto or cave temples, mentioned sometimes in the annals of the older Coptic Church history, as being built into the old mummy graves. While digging out a sarcophagus in the interior of said cave, a few Coptic inscriptions drew his attention to the remnants of a buried church, the center of which he reached after three days of hard work. Some very interesting inscriptions were now found; among them evidently the closing passage of a sermon directed against the Monophysitic heresy, written in Theban dialect with red ink on a white limestone ground. Also on fragments of tablets of similar material certain sentences from Cyrilus, of Alexandria, concerning the two natures of Christ, together with passages of sermons on the Trinity. The walls of the church were also covered with all kinds of devotional phrases in the Greek, Coptic, and Syriac tongues.

The well-known French scholar, Naville, is now leading the excavations for the Egyptian Exploration Fund with great success in Tel-el-Mashuta, on the Suez Canal; and he has just made several "finds" of

considerable importance to the study of biblical antiquities. Among these are two statuettes containing inscriptions, from which it appears that the biblical Pithom, mentioned in Exodus i, 11, is identical with the first station of the Israelites on leaving Egypt, given as Succoth in Exodus xiii, 20. The full name of this place seems to have been Pithom-Succoth, the former being its religious, and the latter its civil, appellation. And going still further, Naville declares this same spot to be identical with the Heroopolis of the Greeks, meaning a magazine or store-house. One of the statues seems to prove this in bearing the title of a priest as the protector of the store-house of the Temple of Tum. Naville also thinks that he has found the ruins of one of these store-houses in a brick wall surrounding chambers closely walled in. He is firmly convinced of the identity of these uncovered remains with the treasure-cities of Pharaoh mentioned in Exodus i, 11, and he has, therefore, sent several specimens of these excavated bricks to parties in France and Switzerland as venerable relics of the days of the period of oppression of the children of Israel.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE famous Berlin Assyriologist, Professor Eberhard Schrader, has again gratified all the friends and students of Old Testament history with a new and much enlarged edition of his well-known work, "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament;" with a supplement by Professor Paul Haupt, now making himself favorably known in this country in the line of Oriental Philology. The present issue is about twice the size of the first edition, and the enlargement is largely in the line of Semitic Philology, which has so greatly grown within the last ten years. The extensive glossary makes it a species of Assyriological Commentary to the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. This arrangement makes the work a convenient one of reference for theologians even out of the line of special Assyriological study, and will insure to it a large circulation among biblical scholars.

The latest work of the French *savant*, De Pressensé, "The Origins: the Problem of Knowledge, the Cosmological Problem, the Anthropological Problem, and the Origin of Morality and Religion," is receiving a good deal of attention in France and Germany. The previous labors of Pressensé belonged especially to theological controversy and political discussion. In applying now to pure philosophy his eminent talents as thinker and author, he does not open to them a field entirely new; he only acknowledges the newly-revealed wants on the double arena where he has hitherto exerted his efforts. The questions of origin, which positivism pretended to interdict to the human mind, have now taken the first place in the researches and polemics and passions of our own epoch among the Positivists themselves. The theologian, Protestant or Cath-

olic, would be behind his era were he to confine himself to the dogmas which divide the Christian communions, or which distinguish faith from reason. He would be lingering in the rear did he feel no other work before him than that of combating the negations or the doubts which confront him in the name of science. He meets bold affirmations, and haughty and absolute solutions of these same problems which were to disappear with ancient theology and metaphysics, and which are now revived under the name of positive, experimental, and scientific theories of the origin of things. This rash philosophy and pretended science, the liberal politician, the Christian firmly attached to the principles and traditions of free investigation, now combats as philosopher and scholar, and the Christian and the scientific world will stop and listen to him.

In reply to the insolent device of the Parisian Socialists, "*Ni Dieu ni Maitre*"—Neither God nor Master—the well-known French author and statesman, Jules Simon, has issued an appeal to the more sober-minded of his countrymen, bearing the significant title, "*Dieu, Liberté, Patrié*." This distinguished patriot appeals to his countrymen in the most persuasive tones to stop a moment in their thoughtless onslaught on every thing that pertains to religion, and to look again before they decide to banish God from the family and the school, and to wage a war against all religion, thinking that they are thus fighting political tyranny. The book is mainly directed against the notorious *seventh article* of Minister Ferry's programme, and is skillful in argument as it is perspicuous and persuasive in its rhetoric. It is poignant in the way in which it puts the pressure on the sore places in recent French policy. Simon greatly regrets that so much of the policy of the day is founded on that of the Revolution and the legislation of 1789, and he appeals for a new policy based on what may be learned from the many errors in the legislation of that period, instead of being a mere renewal of it. Simon was once the idol of the French radical reformers; but they have gone far beyond him, too far, we fear, to hear his sententious and significant words.

A queer theological quidnunc has unearthed some old laws proclaimed by the Prince of Wied to his irreligious subjects in 1761. They seemed to need the rod of discipline, and he applied it with a sternness and severity that remind us of the fabulous Blue Laws falsely attributed to New England : "1. Every Sunday and religious holiday all the able-bodied members of a household must go to church, except one to take care of the house, under a penalty of one florin. 2. One florin fine for keeping on one's hat during prayer or sermon. 3. All babbling or other noise in the church will be visited with the same fine. 4. Every Friday and fast-day at least one member from each household must attend church, under penalty. 5. The elders of the churches must hand to the pastor a list of all persons who violate these regulations, under a penalty of ten florins fine for neglecting this duty. 6. The pastor must make a monthly report of these delinquents to the authorities, and the following Sunday this report must be publicly read in all the pulpits of the land."

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Critique of Design-Arguments. A Historical Review and Free Examination of the Methods of Reasoning in Natural Theology. By L. E. HICKS, Professor of Geology in Denison University, Granville, Ohio. 12mo, pp. 417. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The special leading purpose of Professor Hicks' Critique is to draw a separation in natural theology between the argument from *Order* and the argument from *Design*, leaving to the latter alone the term *Teleology*, and for the former coining the new and euphonious term *Eutaxiology*. And the writer's main position is that *order* is a mark of *intelligence*, proved to be such by induction, distinctly and independently of all thought of purpose or *end*. The theistic argument, then, is properly divided into two great co-ordinate departments, *Eutaxiology* and *Teleology*. He then draws out a full-length and interesting history of Natural Theology, characterizing each leading author in succession in a style of concise, lucid, and trenchant criticism, but bringing each one to the test of having clearly distinguished the *order* argument from the *end* argument. If the author boggles or falters in making this distinction, he is in the end summarily executed. And as the Professor at the first announces himself as primal originator of this true distinction, of course the summary execution aforesaid becomes nearly a total massacre.

It is pleasant and usually profitable to see a scientist come down from his high chair in the domain of science into our humbler arena, with the profession, and as in the present case with the reality, of being well read in a department of theology, and being for the time an actual theologian. The converse has usually been the real fact; the theologian has, like Buckland, Hitchcock, and Dawson, more usually become a scientist. Our present instance plays a trenchant part. His style is clear, concise, trenchant, often sarcastic, and always readable. His sentences speak for themselves immediately and upon a single reading. His logic is vigorous if not always conclusive. And if he now and then, as a live scientist, feels it becoming to snub the theologians as an inferior class of intellects, it is simply the fashion of his guild. Without a due degree of superciliousness he would be an inadequate representative of his class.

But has he made out his thesis that *eutaxiology* is co-ordinate with *teleology*? We think that his new term is worthy of

acceptance by theists, and that his argument is valuable in drawing a fuller attention of theistic writers to the importance and value of the order argument. But we fail to cognize that eutaxiology is any thing more than a subordinate of teleology. An eutaxy is not seen to be objectively impregnated with intelligence as with a subtle element. Intelligence is seen in eutaxy only as it is seen to be *wrought by an intellective power*, and so it seems to be teleological in its inferences. Order is no otherwise a proof of intelligence than as being established by an intelligent being; and so being a designed *end* is purely teleologic. Even our author seems to say this much, abundantly. Thus, in a fine passage on page 17, he says : "What, then, is this impressive fact of celestial harmony—this majestic and orderly movement of vast bodies through boundless space—what is it but a divine thought *impressed* upon the Cosmos? Chemical combinations obey the law of definite and multiple proportions; can nature count them? Crystals present, some simple and complete, others modified and complex, geometrical forms; is nature a *geometrician*? Plants and inferior animals are built upon the radiate plan, the higher animals, having, on the contrary, distinct right and left sides, dorsal and ventral aspects; is there any thought of symmetry in this? or any thought of symmetry and number both in the parts of flowers and the fractional series in phyllotaxy? Men, then, are the 'types of structure' in zoology—a definite pattern or fashion running through whole classes and sub-kingdoms; a *plan* it would seem, and so the comparative anatomists call it." Here in every instance the eutaxy is traced to a designing formative agency. Thought is said to be "*impressed* upon the Cosmos;" "chemical combinations *obey*," etc.; that is, are designedly overruled. And so the terms *built*, *pattern*, *plan*, are all the expression of teleology. And again he says : "The fundamental proposition of eutaxiology is, that order and harmony are marks of intelligence. They imply that there has been a *preconceived plan* to which the phenomena in question have been made to conform." What can be more teleological than a *plan preconceived* to which the phenomena have been *made to conform*? It supposes an *end* predetermined and accomplished.

The Professor, somewhat untenably we think, satirizes the old teleologists for affirming the maxim that all things were made for man. And he rejects indignantly the claim that adverse things in the world are explicable on the theory that a mixed condition of things is a condition of human development and

probation. He does this without deigning an argument, with a somewhat lofty flounce.

And yet there appears a grand truth in the maxim of these "old teleologists," that *all things were made for man*. It is luminously written, however invisible to our dear Professor's keen eyes; not only on the records of Genesis and the moral consciousness of man, but on the monuments of science. By this it is not meant that in being made for man in the great scheme they are not made for themselves, and for each other, also. We recollect that Pressensé once very acutely analyzed the profound system by which the Pope made it the highest interest for the Romanistic priesthood to sustain the highest claims of the Pope's supremacy; so that the priests existed not only for their own dear selves, and for each other, subordinately, but for the successor of St. Peter supremely. They magnified themselves and each other most by clothing him with infallibility and arming him with omnipotence; so, in the system of our creation, it is every animal for himself and for each other, and all for man. The best scientists of our own day have found, in the very anatomical make of the lower species, types and prophecies pointing to man as the final aim of all. All were constructively and predictively for man. And if we rightly contemplate the great fact, referred to on another page, that new-species creation ceased when man appeared, we may not only see that all were so estopped for man's sake, but we may realize how the structure of the earth was constructed to furnish a theater for man's great probationary drama. And if man be, as we suppose Professor Hicks believes, an immortal being, and especially if a probationary being with eternal alternatives before him, then he is more valuable, not only than the entire globe of dead matter, but of the entire mass of perishable animal forms that preceded him. Subordinately the earth existed for itself and for those transient landholders; subordinately they existed for themselves; but supremely they existed as an introductory predictive and tributary prelude to the probationary drama of Immortals. Hence we stand unflinchingly before Professor Hicks' peremptory irony: "In his [Henslow's] view all the physical evils which affect the brute creation, and have harassed *them* [sic] with pain and suffering, and done them to death [sic] by millions during long ages before man appeared upon the scene, all this was for the sake of surrounding man with inideal [unideal, realistic] circumstances. This may be very orthodox theology, but it is derived from some other source than nature."

Yes, sir, it is "very orthodox theology;" and it is based upon "nature," moral consciousness, and Holy Writ. It is the adamantine rock of truth, and the Professor might as well attempt to storm Gibraltar with a battery of green peas as to disturb its foundations. For is not this mixed scene of woe and weal the necessary condition for the battle of Immortality? Can immortal man's character of heroic excellence be attained without hard battle and sublime conquest? And if Darwin was right, in an imaginative moment, in descrying "something sublime" in a vast pile of mere successive animal generations, how much more sublime to find them an epic of long-ascending progress, winding off in the glorious triumph-field of millions of immortal victors! Mr. Beecher lately said, suggestively, "that pain is an educator." Struggle is a gymnasium that forms robust and exalted being. Physical difficulties train the body, the basis of the whole personality, to hardness and power; stratagem and adventurous problem develop the brain and enlarge the intellect; temptations and trials, both of an adverse and of a seductive quality, form the moral character, and prepare it for the reception of the inbreathed personal *spirit*, by which man enters on his probationary training for an immortal survivorship. If Prof. Hicks thinks the prelude is a very long one for a short after-piece, we reply, that God is slow and patient because God is eternal. He is no way nervous or fretful with this long preparatory lapse of time. And how short or long the after-piece—that is, of our probationary time—will be, no one knows; but this we may know, that the trilogy goes in its part third into eternity and has no end.

After Haeckel our Professor denounces the "absurdity" of supposing "sin, disease, crime, despair, and death" are "the means" of "probation for man." Our answer is that the misery and despair of the animal ages preluding man are exaggerated. Let us see.

Animal life has been in all ages an enjoyment. This fact in behalf of the Creator is universally proclaimed by the unanimous suffrage of all animal beings. Do they not flee from death as the highest evil just because *life is the highest blessing*? Do they not defend the life that God has given them with their highest bravery and their utmost strength? And animal annihilation is in itself, apart from pain in dying, no suffering, for the non-existent does not suffer after death any more than before birth or being. Prof. Clifford, an eminent disbeliever in immortality, prescribed to be written on his tombstone that cessation in

nothingness is no evil to be regretted, for the non-existent cannot regret. And slight, probably, is the pain of dying. A physiologist in a late "Popular Science Monthly" maintained that even for man death is painless. Dr. Livingstone, who was once nearly shaken to death by a lion, declares that there was a pleasure in the sensation. It is quite possible that the mouse, when dandled by the paws of the playful cat, enjoys the fun nearly as well as pussy herself. Once, in Florida, we saw a winged limpkin in the hands of a ruthless sportsman, who was breaking the poor bird's limbs for reliques, slowly fading away with its beautiful eyes into death, as if soothed into a sweet slumber, and we doubt not it suffered less pain than the pitying beholder. And what is that "despair" but the hopelessness of retaining an earnestly loved existence? And yet what is that so much dreaded "death" but a mere cessation? The insect and the animal, then, are organisms animated with a glimpse of life, briefly enjoyed, and then ceasing. We do suppose that, with their inferior nervous systems, they enjoy less and suffer less than man. No animal below man, not even the scorpion, commits suicide. Schelling said that nature sleeps in vegetables, dreams in animals, and lives in man. God gives the animal a dreamy glimpse of life, and death is nothing but its stopping. And we do suppose that the lower natures of animals, like the natures of lower men, find their highest happiness in the raptures of the fight. Intellectual and moral beings, like professors of geology and students in theology, look upon peace as the condition of happiness; but lower natures, like pugilists, duelists, and many soldiers and heroes, as well as lions, wild cats, serpents, and wasps, despise such monotony, and think no life worth living which is not rife with excitement, battle, danger, and death. With mere animals there is no immorality in all this, for they are no more moral beings than the cliffs that break in avalanches or the cyclones that sweep the prairie. As the brave soldier prefers death in battle by sword, by bayonet, or by artillery, to death by disease, so the lower animal, if he could choose, would prefer to die by the shark's tooth, the serpent's venom, or the sportsman's shot, rather than by slow starvation. And when we remember that life is basally an enjoyment, we may recognize all the glad-like motions and voices of animals as showing a superstructure of happiness overlying that base. Do not all the voices from lower nature denounce the heresy of Pessimism? In spite of the Professor's taunt, we recognize with Paley proof of enjoyment "in the gambols of the shrimp," in the riotous

song of the mocking-bird, in the magnificent soar of the eagle. Take the sum total of pleasant existence, and it stands a grand majority over the sum of suffering. The whole animal world is in virtual contract with the Creator to endure all the pain for the sake of the vast amount of gratification. And the man does not well understand God and nature who does not read in the palæontological ages scenes of enjoyment, humble and homely, dreamy and yet excited, predicting the unfolding in the future of the kingdom of God on earth to be inaugurated by the advent of Man.

Nor do we quite concur with the Professor in satirizing "the old teleologists" for finding design in minute adaptations and uses. Sir Isaac Newton said: "It seems probable to me that God, in the beginning, formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable particles, of such size and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportions to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them!" This conception he applies specially to the astronomical bodies, but why not also to all the other relations between nature and the living beings on the globe, and supremely man? God has so formed matter as to be malleable and pliable to all the uses of a creature framed like man with wonderful prehensile and manipulating limbs and formative intellect; and he has so adjusted the body, limbs, intellect, and propensities of man that between man and varied nature there arises a correlation rife with a history of infinitely numerous minute correlations all foreknown to the divine Mind, and all comprehended in the divine Plan. Thence we may say, loosely, Every thing is made for the uses, good and possibly bad, of man. And the number of minute designs and uses is infinite. Was the goose-quill meant for man to write with? Yes; for it was endowed with the definite properties; and man was so framed as to be developed to a period when that would be needed and suitable; and the divine Author of human history truly foreknew that combination. We therefore take no stock in Prof. Hicks' disgust at such a countless number of petty instances of designed utility as are found in the books of "the old teleologists." We do believe, for instance, that the mouth was made to bite a piece of food fairly proportioned to the capacity of the stomach. Nor are we at all defeated when a particular teleology is found to be based on a mistake as to scientific fact, or even three successive mistaken facts, (as adduced by the "Westminster Review,") for in each case, however

mistaken as to fact, the reasoning was right, and the supposed correlation would be a fair and true case of design.

Mr. Hicks assumes the chair professorial, and gives a lecture magisterial, to the Theologians, in the style of his guild, on their dealings with Darwinism. He assumes the truth of the current error that they have abused Darwin personally ; that they have opposed his *ism* bigotedly ; and he advises, as a prudent course, that theologians never take issue with new scientific theories. His facts are mistakes and his advice is rigmarole. The record will show, we think, that the first grand onset made on Darwinism was made by the great secular Quarterlies, from scientists, and on scientific grounds. And then our Professor ought to know that all startling new science must, of necessity and right, be subjected to crucial scrutiny by the old science. All new announcements of truth are bound to stand trial and demonstrate their right to exist. This is the law, and a rightful law. Science obeys it, and fights the new-comer just as truly as Theology. In fact, it may with great truth be said, that the old exploded interpretations of the Bible were simply but old science concreted around the text, so that the original blunder was imported from old science. The concretion was so perfect that it seemed an identification with the text itself, and to remove it seemed to be a laceration of the records. Such being the case, the advice given either to scientists or theologians to drop at the first shot from the pretended new science, though it be but a blank cartridge, is about as wise as "the Pope's bull against the comet." Both Scientists and Theologians will rightfully challenge the new claimants, require exhibition of the credentials, demand their subjection to the most critical tests, and finally accept them as science when duly and conclusively verified. And this is the rightful course Theologians have pursued.

Our author furnishes a genial review of Janet's "Final Causes," in which he passes some condemnatory criticisms upon the use of the word "cause" as a designation of the *intended results* or so-called *ends* of an agent's action, which we consider entirely just. To say that the *end* at which an agent aims, teleologically, is a *cause* of the aim, in the sense of necessitating as all positively efficient cause does, is making two really efficient causes, and is contradictory to volitional freedom. And we may add that the word *end* as now used in teleology is not much better. The ordinary use of the word *end*, which ever obtrudes itself upon the thought, even in teleological discourse, is *termination beyond which there is no*

subsequent, as the *end* of a chain ; whereas the teleological *end* is often only a middle link. Nor does the word *end* in teleology suggest a previous process of which it is the special conclusion, as the word *result* does. The form *intended-result* precisely designates the thing. And the best single term is that used by Dr. Winchell, *intentionality*. But while indorsing, and, perhaps, even extending the Professor's criticisms thus far, we dissent from his statement, for which he quotes Lesage and Janet, that "the final cause is the *motive* that determines an intelligent being to will an end." Certainly not. The end is that *result*, or object, which the agent intends to accomplish ; the motive is the *inducement* on account of which he intends the *end*. For instance, be the *end* or intended-result the killing of a man, the *motive* for such an end may be revenge, or robbery, or the removal of a rival or obstacle. And if by a change of the status you make either of these motives the *end*, you will find some other point coming into view as *motive* for that *end*.

Methodism and Literature. A Series of Articles from several writers on the Literary Enterprise and Achievements of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by F. A. ARCHIBALD, D.D. With a Catalogue of Select Books for the Home, the Church, and the Sunday-School. 12mo, pp. 427. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

This volume contains twenty-five essays written upon our Church literature by leading pens among us ; an extended catalogue of books, by authors not all Methodists, for the guidance of all who inquire what to read ; a catalogue of books of missionary literature specially ; the whole being supplemented with an index of authors specified. It is an interesting survey of our literary past, and some of the articles are vigorous and inspiring.

We have croakers among us whose *animus* is to depreciate all that comes from our own press. And, to the croaker's eye, all commendation of our literature from our own press is set down as perfunctory buncombe. They may indeed feel a little startled when an outside authority speaks in eulogistic terms. To them it comes like an unexpected thought when the *Evangelist* says, frankly : "No religious body in this country can present, we believe, so various and extensive a collection of denominational literature as the Methodist Church."

Among the writers, Dr. Hunt appropriately gives a succinct history of our Book Concern. It increases our denominational self-respect to realize that the inauguration of a literature was

one of the earliest enterprises on which our founders entered. And we think, too, how much was lost when the twice-burning of Cokesbury College so discouraged our fathers that they gave up collegiate work as disapproved by Providence, and then, as if in self-defense, fell to depreciating college education and "college-made preachers."

Dr. Walden, in an article on Circulation of our Literature, rich with factual and statistical arguments, shows *what has been done*, *what we have failed to do*, and *what we must do*. As to the first point, he says :

The books and periodicals, as compared with those of other denominations, have been relatively cheap, and, a large proportion of them having been sold by the Book Concerns and Depositories at a discount from the retail or published price, the margin of profit has not been large, and yet the sales have been so great, as to yield an aggregate profit of about three million dollars since the New York Book Concern was destroyed by fire in 1836. During this forty-five years (notwithstanding the loss by fire in Chicago, in 1871, and the losses on non-paying periodicals and depositaries established by General Conference, aggregating about four hundred thousand dollars) there has been an increase of \$1,136,196 54 in the net capital of the two Book Concerns; and there has been paid out by order of General Conference, during the same period, above fifteen hundred thousand dollars for the benefit of the worn-out preachers, for the support of the Bishops, and for other connectional purposes, including \$366,909 62 to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, under adjustment of the suit brought in the United States Supreme Court. The amount received for the books actually put into circulation in 1881 was \$874,191, and for the periodicals, \$494,334; total, \$1,368,525. During the past thirty years, (since 1851,) the sales of books and periodicals by the New York Book Concern and its Depositories have amounted to \$16,997,331 28; of Western Book Concern and its Depositories, \$15,194,931 02; total in thirty years, \$32,192,262 30.

But while our *periodicals* have, as time passes, increased immensely, our books, even Sunday-school books, are circulated fewer, in proportion to our people, than formerly. Our ministry are professedly too busy, perhaps really too proud, to engage in the poor old Wesleyan business of circulating books. As one remedy, Dr. Walden enlarges upon the value of church libraries; and these will be established, and our Church become a reading Church; just in proportion to the interest the pastor takes in the enterprise. Our impression is that herein we need a great "revival" among our ministry.

Dr. Arthur Edwards next gives us a stirring answer to the query why Methodism prints. Whitefield said that the devil should not have all the good tunes, and Dr. Edwards thinks ditto of the effective machinery. "In the olden time, as well as now," he says, "our power and influence were, apparently, more in the pulpit and on the platform, but we believe the paramount influence was in the tract, leaflet, biography, hymn book, and Scripture,

which came from the Methodist presses, and were read and read again when the itinerant was absent or asleep. We make this point coolly and confidently."

Next comes what we may call a trilogy on the right and the wrong sort of reading. First, Dr. James M. Freeman gives a scathing condemnation of pernicious literature, especially of the "dime novel" class. Rev. N. B. C. Love furnishes a neat essay on what we do read, and what we should read. Next, Dr. Ross Houghton closes the triad with a full and eloquent portraiture of the *evils of indiscriminate novel-reading*. This trilogy is a pealing alarm which our ministry should hear. We asked a young minister, Did you ever preach a sermon on *Reading*? Answer, No. Did you ever hear one preached? No. Did you ever hear of one being preached by any body? No. Do you not think that one ought to be preached annually by every minister? Yes. It is reading, now, that forms the public character. It is bad reading, both immoral and irreligious, that is fearfully threatening to form it to a debased and ruined model. And yet so momentous a topic, so full of thrilling and ominous interest, is left untouched almost unanimously by our pulpit. A moral *Index Expurgatorius* ought to be established by the strong moral sense of the Christian Church.

Five essays next unfold the character of our literature in its varied departments. Our biographical literature is exhibited richly by Dr. Watkins; our historical by Dr. Hoyt, of the Western Advocate; hymnological by Dr. Hemenway; biblical, theological, and doctrinal ably set forth in two essays by the editor, Dr. Archibald. Among the contributors of the remaining essays of the volume we find Dr. Fowler, Bishop Warren, Dr. Alabaster, and Dr. Wise. Of particular practical value are two by Dr. Wise on the ideal of a Sunday-school library, and a plan for organizing a church library.

In the survey of our literature, of course, absolute completeness could not be expected. The five essays could be expanded into a volume. The editor has well performed his task, both in his selections and his original contributions. Several fine *brochures* have been overlooked. One of the finest essays that ever proceeded from a Methodist pen is young Randolph Mercein's book on Natural Goodness. Our belief has ever been that had his life been spared to us he would have been about the brightest star in our intellectual firmament. But we are most surprised to look in vain for any characterization of the mind and writings of that

pure son of genius, Bishop Edward Thomson. Had this volume been issued from our New York house, free as our East and West are from sectional jealousy—we wish our North and South were equally free—it might be thought that we neglected him from our want of due appreciation. But when his own West, where his name still wakens its rich enthusiasm, forgets, we Easterners just venture respectfully to ask the reason why.

One of the advantages of our Book Concern to young Methodist authors has not been sufficiently realized. A manuscript is offered to the publishers, and the editor finds it meritorious but not remunerative with our special market. The author is then told to go to a leading publisher, and offer his book with the assurance to the publisher that our house will take a small edition. Under that inducement more than one work has already been published.

Elements of Methodism. A Series of Short Lectures addressed to one Beginning a Life of Godliness. By D. STEVENSON, D.D. Small 12mo, pp. 183. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883. Price, 75 cents.

Dr. Stevenson was "at a loss to know what book to select" for the use of young converts and probationers, and so made one himself. He has made a good one. It is on much the same plan as Dr. Bostwick Hawley's "Manual" and Binney's "Theological Compend," which have for some time stood as predecessors in the same field, but have not rendered successors and coadjutors like Dr. Stevenson superfluous. His purpose is to transmute the solid meat of the Articles, the Ritual, and the Discipline into milk for babes. Avoiding the technicalities of the theological expert and the profundities of theology itself, he clothes the simpler lines of our theology in popular style, easy of comprehension, while correct in statement and worthy of all circulation broadcast.

But there is one thing wanting in this work and in its predecessors. Though in the form of lectures, we have not discovered one instance of direct address to the dear young convert trusting in a glorious salvation and aspiring for the full enjoyment of communion with saints on earth. There is no use, we believe, of the second person, singular or plural. There is no emotion, no unction, no tenderness, no joy. We know no model in this respect like the old Heidelberg Catechism. There, for instance, the catechized is not treated to merely an abstract statement of the doctrine of the atonement, but he is most tenderly taught, with strict doctrinal truth, how the blessed Saviour died on

account of his sins to bring him into holiness and heaven. It is possible to state every article of our faith with direct address in winning, emotional language. We need not divide the emotional from the didactic, having one part for the dogma and another part for the "application," one part for the head and another part for the heart, but both should be identified into one. We have done this in our preaching, and so the people have loved our Methodism, and have taken in our theology without knowing that it was theology, just as Moliere's man had been speaking "prose" all his life without knowing that it was "prose." But when we come to our catechisms—what petrifications! Not one of them, we fear, is fit to win a child's heart. And our "popular compendiums" and probationers' manuals, though better, are not very much better.

Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version of the New Testament. By ELIAS RIGGS, D.D., LL.D., Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople. 12mo, pp. 94. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1883.

Dr. Riggs published some years ago a volume of suggested emendations of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, which, as published by anticipation, is available for the use of the Revisers beforehand. His *suggestions* for the New Testament are available only for a retouching the revision already made, which he intimates that a majority of the Revisers themselves are convinced to be necessary in order to public acceptance; an ultimate acceptance which he thinks desirable.

From his long residence in the East, and his rare familiarity with oriental dialects, as well as his sound judgment, any *suggestions* from him are entitled to and will receive very respectful attention. Of the New Version he says: "It would take far more space than these suggestions occupy to mention the places in which, in my judgment, they have greatly improved the common version, removing many inaccuracies, infelicities, and inconsistencies." The method he suggests for the retouching indicates the prime causes that have produced the defects which are the obstacles to the adoption of the new work. "The Revision Committees should put the general care of the work into the hands of a sub-committee of at least three men, who should devote their whole time to it as long as it is in progress. Such a committee would be able to render available all the aid offered from without, to watch over the thorough consisteney and harmony of the different parts of the version, and to report to the general

committees the changes needed to secure these objects. Devoting their whole time and energy to it, they would be far more likely to keep in mind the great variety of points, often minute, which demand attention in the progress of such a work, than ten times as many men of equal ability who are earnestly devoting six sevenths of their time to other duties." Such a comprehensive revision of the whole work, bringing it into unity, inviting suggestions, both written and printed, from all quarters of Christian scholarship, and availing itself of the plentiful discussions that have taken place, would, we trust, secure a version which the public would finally accept.

God's Timepiece for Man's Eternity. By GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 445. • New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1883.

Dr. Cheever is a stalwart Protestant Evangelical. The Bible is to him, in thought and word, the word of God. Like Wesley, he holds that "God hath written a book," and above all other authorship and all other literature he would say, "Give me that Book." He believed in what Gilbert Haven called "a whole Bible."

And he places the argument on the true ground—Christ. The Old Testament is Christ foreshadowed; the New Testament is Christ narrated. Such special pleadings as Professor Browne's slender attempt in the *Independent* at showing Christ's non-acknowledgment of Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch would reach him as a volley of small shot would an iron-clad. And this is the true, firm, unwavering position maintained by him with a healthful spirit; not because he is impervious to valid argument, but because there is no valid argument to be encountered. The Bible of the ancient Jewish Church, of the Samaritan and the Septuagint Versions, of Christ and his apostles, of the early and later Christian Church, is, essentially and as a whole, whatever special passages may have been interpolated as admitted by a duly wise conservatism, is the CANON which no assault can invalidate or bring into patient debate, except as with actual infidels alone.

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXXV.—38

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Theories of Darwin, and their Relation to Philosophy, Religion, and Morality.
By RUDOLF SCHMID, President of the Theological Seminary at Schöntal, Würtemberg. Translated from the German by G. A. Zimmermann, Ph.D. With an introduction by the Duke of Argyll. 12mo. pp. 410. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co. 1883.

An important contribution to the discussion of the question of the Antiquity of Man awakened by the genius of Darwin. It is especially valuable to us as giving a historical view of the predecessors of Darwin, of his successors and exaggerators, and of the position of the present public mind of Germany on the subject. He refers also to England, but seems uninformed of any American writers, mentioning no scientists but Leidy and Marsh slightly, and entirely silent of Dawson, Southall, Winchell, and Le Conte.

Very properly, though not happily, in his selection of technics he distinguishes the theory of Origins into three questions, namely, of Descent, of Evolution, and of Natural Selection. The doctrine of *Descent* signifies the genetic origin of all species by births from one primeval ancestry, and is what we would call *genetic derivationism*. *Evolution* implies that such descent has always been without sudden leaps or transmutations, and is opposed to what Le Conte styles "paroxysmal generation," but admits only of the normal variation. This we consider a narrowing of the generic comprehension of this term productive of ambiguity. *Natural Selection* implies that all the varieties of species arise from merely normal variations most favorable to existence, thus producing the survival of the forms most adapted to persist. Our author believes that the scientific mind at the present time increasingly maintains the doctrine of *Descent or Derivationism*. *Evolution* in its stringent form seems declining, and *Natural Selection* still more so. The *fourth* view, what he calls *heterogenic generation*, that is, transmutation by leaps, sudden transformism; and a *fifth* view, called by him "primitive generation," (but which, being parentless, is no "generation" at all,) that is, original species-creation, he believes may ultimately obtain acceptance by the public mind of the future. But he concludes that at the present time neither of these views is demonstrated, all being as yet in a state of "hypothetic" uncertainty.

This historical and scientific survey forms Part First of the volume. Part Second discusses the relations of Darwinian Theo-

ries in Reference to Religion—that is, to Theism and Biblicalism—and to Morality. The general view maintained is that, limited to its true significance and modesty, (with raving Haeckelism eliminated,) Derivationism is hostile to neither Theism, Religion, nor the Bible.

The style is full, flowing, and animated. The spirit of the author is frank and candid. But the translator should have brought him into briefer sentences and a more easy and lucid English. His diction is sometimes circumlocutory, his periods are often long and involved, requiring the rapid reader often to stop, and re-peruse both single sentences and extended paragraphs and chapters. The compensation is that, if interested in the subject, you are amply rewarded for both the perusal and the study of a very symmetrical and complete exposition.

To our view Dr. Schmid concedes too much to the argument for the antiquity of man from the fossil remains. He marshals out the old and well-refuted instances of the Neanderthal skull, the Engis skull, and also two human skulls from Coblenz in 1873, in which were "eight marks of lower formation." The Neanderthal skull was really superior to the average Malay skull; the Engis was, as Mr. Huxley said, "a fair average human skull." The scarcity of questionable skulls is a great disproof of their being members of a great past race. As to the skull with its "eight marks," Southall furnishes the following exemplar caution against mistaking modern idiots for ancient fossils.

The Anthropological Society of Berlin [M. Virchow remarked] had recently received two skulls, one belonging to a man, the other to a woman, obtained in some excavations at Athens, and contemporary with the Macedonian epoch. These crania had a capacity, said M. Virchow, "which was at the present day regarded as insufficient to give a normal physical development. That of the female had the capacity of the cranium of a savage of New Holland; the other was a little larger. One might regard that of the woman as Mongolian by its anatomical characters, and if it had been found at Foofoos it would certainly have been considered as coming from a very inferior and very primitive race."

Nevertheless, it belonged to a woman named Glykera, and her rank was indicated by the precious relics found in her tomb.

Highest in authority on the origin of man, our author ranks Von Baer, "the pioneer in the region of the history of individual development;" and some of the views attributed to him are very noteworthy. Von Baer "is by no means disinclined to the idea of the origin of species through descent, whether in gradual development or in leaps;" but he confesses "with a modesty worthy of acknowledgment his *total ignorance* concerning the

manner in which certain forms of life, especially the higher ones, originated. The origin of higher species without the supposition of a descent is to him unexplainable, because the individuals of these species are, in their first development of life, *so dependent on their mother.* Furthermore, he points out the fact that in early periods of the earth the organic forming power which ruled *must have been a higher one than it is at the present;* in like manner as the first period of life in the embryonic development of individuals is to-day the most productive. This higher power of organization, he says, could consist in a higher power of *changing organisms into new species*, as well as a higher power of *producing a new species* through primitive generation, [that is, parentless origination of new forms;] or it could consist in both. In general, there is no reason to suppose that primitive generations which took place at the first origination of life on earth, could not have been repeated later and oftener. The nearer a generation was to these individuals originated through primitive generation, the greater was undoubtedly its flexibility and changeableness; the farther, the greater the fixity of type."

Here are utterances that seem almost to put us back to the Mosaic evolution and parentless creation of man.

1. The highest science here confesses, after all the boasts of having explained every thing, a "total ignorance" as to the origination of the highest forms. Science therefore vacates the field, and leaves it to (not "*special creation*" as it has been absurdly called, but to) organic and law-ruled general creation.

2. This scientific "total ignorance" of the origin of the highest forms may well be confessed. For how can an important limb half formed be put forth without being an incumbrance destructive in the race of life; without being atrophied by disuse; without being absorbed by repeated cross generations? And how can the definite specialization of such limb, its completion and adaptation to a variety of complex special uses, be imagined unteleologically? And this argument applies more forcibly to the higher species than to the lower. And when we notice Schmid's further statement, that no new species has appeared during the human period, and so no origination of species has ever been *seen* by man, what ground is there for the denial of parentless origination of new species of even the highest order?

3. The impossibility of a new form arising and maintaining existence, independently of a mother, can be solved only by a miraculous supposition, or a supernature above the plane of our present

nature. More than fifty years ago, Dr. Olin, in an eloquent passage in a published sermon, forcibly argued the truth of the Mosaic accounts of the creation of man from the long helplessness of the human infant. The argument seems to stand good to-day. Says the rationalistic philosopher, Fichte: "Who, then, educated the first human pair? A spirit bestowed its care upon them, as is laid down down in an ancient and venerable original record, which, taken altogether, contains the profoundest and the loftiest wisdom, and presents those results to which all philosophy must at last return."—*Kitto*, article *Adam*.

4. This requirement of a greater primitive plasticity, and even of species-creation in earlier ages, has, we may suggest, an apparent accordance with the linguist's requirement, noticed on another page, of a primitive power of word-forming by original creation, now lost, leaving nothing but word-formation by derivation.

Schmid justly and effectively emphasizes the fact that *no new species has appeared on the earth since the creation of man*. The variant forms of species are of too low and equivocal a character to form any exception to the universality of this statement. And this is a very significant view. We know thence what constitutes the sabbatic rest of the Creator, when with man's formation He closed the evolutions of new forms of life. And we see how we are now in the cosmical sabbath of God; and how the creative days of Moses were therefore cosmic days. This view spreads the surface of the earth before us as the area of a definite period, an *aeon*, a dispensation, or (as Tayler Lewis invented the term) a "time-world." It is man's day, in which he is ruler over the earlier races that waited his advent. And man is not merely, in our author's phrase, "a somatic-psychical" being, but a somatic-psychic-pneumatic being. He is endowed with capacities and intuitions, correlating him with supernal existence. Room is here found for all the conditions of responsibility and eschatology. The kingdom of nature opens full space for the kingdom of probation.

If we rightly understand Dr. Schmid, on page 62, he objects to the sudden creation of parentless man from the fact that "our imagination refuses to accept it." And on page 219, quoting Darwin's crude metaphor rejecting the idea "that in innumerable periods in the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues," our author promptly adds, "and he is no doubt right in rejecting it." And similarly scientific men exclaim: "Can we suppose that a full-grown man should start up all at once into existence?" We

call Darwin's metaphor *crude* because we see no demand for a "flash" in a process where no combustion is needed or supposable. And we query whether our "imagination" can be any decisive authority against a process taking place before the period of man's existence or perception. The "imagination" which so "refuses" is an imagination fastened to the conception of processes taking place during the present order of formations; that is, during the above-mentioned human period in which no new species has appeared. Our imagination as really refuses to picture how the huge limbs of the great mammals pushed themselves forth. It refuses to picture how the frost concretes on a tree's limbs and leaves, or how it forms trees and varied shapes upon the morning window-glass. Least of all can we imagine the rapid spontaneities that shape man's limbs in the womb. So far as picturability is concerned, we can as easily conceive how the elements may condense from the atmosphere into the form and substance of a human body, as how the clouds condense into the form of a hay-cock. And surely a Christian author can hardly claim that "our imagination refuses to accept" or picture the sudden emergence from vacant space of "the two men in white apparel" figured to our vision in Acts i, 10.

In his important chapter on the relation of Darwinism to the Genesis history he adopts essentially the theory of periodic days. He subjects the cosmogonic narrative to the Decalogue, (as we have heretofore done, "Commentary," vol. iv, page 315,) holding that the creative week is a conception adopted as typical of the human week. The creative days are "days of God" just as the days of our human week are days of man. Yet the order of the days of the cosmogonic week has a basis in the geologic order. If you take the successive great days at their zenith, their noon-day, you can trace, he thinks, but does not emphasize the thought, a coincidence with the scientific order. We should not hesitate to add the obvious hymnic character of the Mosaic chapter. And so doing we find no difficulty in the reconciliation. We believe the true view of the chapter to be attained.

On the Creation of Man and the Edenic history our author is, we think, too concessive. He adopts the untenable assumption that the creative statements in Genesis i and ii contradict each other! We hold that they are so complementary to each other as to prove them to be correspondent parts of a single design. Genesis i to ii, 3, gives the narrative in historic order down to the creation of man. Genesis ii, 4, then begins with man, and

traces his surroundings in the order preparatory to the fall. As the first of these documents relates how Adam arose, so the second narrates how he fell. They are therefore correspondent to each other, a twofold one.

Next Schmid furnishes no conception of the probable nature of man's creation. He spends his pages in professing how he will not take positions adverse to the reconciliation of Moses and Darwin. They are pages of diffuse weakness and submissiveness to a dubious scientism. His book has, however, aided our own thought to positive positions which he surrenders. What forbids our stalwartly maintaining the divine, parentless origination of man? Von Baer, the highest authority, affirms the total ignorance of science how the higher species came into existence. That clears the space. We then reject the notion that "our imagination refuses" the conception of the concretion of elements into a perfect human person. Is there one valid reason that logically compels the denial of man's origination by direct divine power, in accordance with laws of creation previous to the human period? The whole professedly scientific argument seems based on the fact that these pre-human originations have never been seen by man.

Our author quotes as expressive of "a right feeling," forsooth, Darwin's sentence, "For my own part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey . . . or from that old baboon . . . as from a savage," etc. "Right feeling" or not, it is not the biblical "feeling;" for that marks man off from the lower races by a direct creative interposition of God, a supernal breath, and a divine "image." Adam, before the fall, is in Schmid's handling a man that happened, a respectable ordinary gardener. He has no transcendency, no immortalization antithetic to the incarnation, no inauguration. To him there indeed "belonged the possibility of having a sinless development," "the possibility of obtaining an exemption from death and all evils by way of a self-controlling submission to God." That seems to be a "conditional immortality."

What makes this surrender more unfortunate is its ignoring the grand tradition recorded on the memory of all the great races of a golden age, an Edenic origin, and a primal fall, so vividly set forth by Lenormant, as insurance of a historic reality. We said in a former *Quarterly*, and we repeat, that Evolution has no right to forget that historicity, but must adjust its scheme to its positive reality. How much more should biblical defense

insist on that adjustment, and firmly maintain the truth of our Edenic history! The Psalm of the Creation which commences Genesis is poetically true; the paradise narrative that follows is historically true. Woe be to the pseudo-Christian biblicism that surrenders either.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Gesta Christi; or, A History of Human Progress Under Christianity. By CHARLES LORING BRACE. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 496. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1883.

There is a great *geographical argument* in favor of Christianity. Spread the map of the world before you. Take your pencil and draw a boundary line around the lands that are eminently the civilized, and you have nearly defined the boundaries of Christianity. Withdraw from all other lands the enlightenment derived directly from Christian lands, and you leave them in a darkness that enhances the significant contrast. Take again your pencil, and draw a line around those Christian lands in which there is the open Bible read and taught without restraint, and you have mainly defined the lands of *pre-eminent* civilization. And so powerful is this Christian civilization that it cannot be conquered. Ages there were in which, in the contest with barbarism, civilization was often weak, and became terribly overwhelmed and suppressed. That time has passed. At this day our scientific civilization has to be checked and reined in by our Christian civilization, or it would sweep, as with an annihilating dynamite, all barbarism from the face of the earth. And it is hourly increasing in power and progress. If the strength of the Christian element can continue to duly balance the scientific element—if it can prevent the sensual vices from enervating as well as the forceful vices from destroying—there appears no end to the advancement, no limit to the magnitude of the ultimate attainment. Never, therefore, was an intense and effective Christianity more important than at this crisis.

It is here that the great value of Mr. Brace's volume appears. It shows by a well-directed historic analysis what share the Christian religious element has had in evolving our present civilization; and, assuming that it is the purpose and plan of the divine Founder to work out his results by ages of progress, he shows that the fullness of Christian power is just beginning, and

promises a career of progress in the future which the mind is now unable to measure. It is, therefore, a book of evidential value, as well as a Christian directory for the world's future. It deserves especially study by the teachers and defenders of Christian truth, and a permanent place in every scholarly library.

The work is divided chronologically into three Periods: the Roman, the Mediæval, and the Modern Period. In the Roman Period our author, giving great honor to the system of Roman law, as a grand product of human intellect and conscience under the influence of the Stoic philosophy, portrays, nevertheless, with unflinching pen the degrading and destructive vices of imperial paganism. Parental despotism, the degradation of woman, sexual depravities, slavery, exposure of children, bloody sports, licentious shows, gladiatorial fights—all these gave a brutalism and a savagism to the garish civilization of the age. And these vices existed, not as some of them now do, lurking under cover and outlawed under the pressure of a purer public opinion, but supported by public opinion, and sometimes exhibited in open display under the imperial patronage. With the exception of the occasional reprobation of the Stoic philosophers, the entire society was permeated with these atrocities. Mr. Brace traces the gradual and growing influence of Christianity on the public mind in attacking these vices, and in bringing the age to purity, humanity, and peace. Christianity aimed to create the virtues that were necessary to public safety, to orderly society, to mental steadiness, and so to both moral and intellectual advancement. The force of the argument consists very much in its volume of details and the fullness of its historical pictures. No general phrases, however energetic, can convey the full and true impression.

Coming to the Mediæval Period, the eye is obliged at once to survey a scene of pagan barbarism to be slowly permeated with Christian ideas. It is in very deed a crucial experiment. Hordes of barbarians had poured in from Asia to Central Europe, and rushed down upon the civilization and Christianity of ancient Italy. Christianity's problem now is to regenerate those hordes and create our modern Europe. It is a vigorous and sublime, but not a very pure or perfect, Christianity. It sometimes takes the barbarian vices and gives them a Christian impregnation, and so produces a hybrid Christian institution. So we have a series of organic evils established, some of them appalling in their character, which shed dishonor on the mediæval age. Such evils were the tutelage of woman, the feud, the private war, the wager of

battle, and the ordeal. But between these mediæval vices and those of the Roman period there seems to us to be an important difference, which neither Mr. Brace nor, we think, any other author notices. The Roman vices, namely, despotic parentage, sexual baseness, gladiatorships, etc., were pure *crimes*, springing from the cruelty and sensuality of our depraved nature ; the mediæval vices, wager of battle, ordeal, and even torture and persecution, were largely moral *mistakes*, the action of an unenlightened *conscience* and an erring aim at justice. The battle wager assumed that God was specially present in the result; the ordeal was also an appeal to a special providence. The institution of torture, strangely enough, aimed at truth and justice. Even persecution was intentionally right. The persecutor wished to rescue the heretic or his follower from hell. Perhaps no more stupendously cruel man, objectively, ever existed than Philip II. of Spain. Yet it seems certain that his bloody persecutions were thoroughly conscientious. Their purpose was to preserve religion and save the souls of men at any cost. Philip believed himself not only supremely pious but supremely humane. Mr. Lecky charges the existence of persecution to the doctrine of hell. And no doubt there is some truth in his statement. To save from hell was often *largely* the inquisitors' purpose. But two things there are that Mr. Lecky should have also noted. *First*, the doctrine of hell—the most impressive image of divine justice—was the great deterrent of a barbarous age from wickedness. It was a powerfully reformatory thought. And, *second*, the Church, in adopting persecution, wickedly abandoned its original ground, that physical force had no right to interfere in moral probation. All we can say, then, in palliation of this enormity is, that it had a high moral pretext, and often real purpose, as the Roman cruelties and sensualities had not. But that is saying a great deal for the new spirit that Christianity had brought into the world. It was the ascent of a whole age from the brutal and devilish to a spiritual plane. But our readers must carefully mark our use of the word *largely* in the above statements. Man's motives, like his nature, are mixed. In the wager of battle, for instance, the purely conscientious class saw an appeal to God for the right, while the practical class saw a proper survival of the fittest, and the muscular class saw a solution of the exciting question which could whip. And how strangely even now this last motive can enter into the heart of a most accomplished Christian gentleman we can illustrate by a very modern instance. At the opening of our

late civil war we were amazed to hear our beloved friend, Dr. Dashiell, say that he did not want a war, but he would like to see a dozen Northerners and a dozen Southerners selected to fight it out, and see which could beat! We fully agree with Mr. Brace that there is a great work yet for Christianity to do in the world.

Although showing abundantly how beneficent was the Church in reforming the European tribes, our author makes a careful distinction between the religion and the Church. To this the agnostic critic in the *Evening Post* objects, inasmuch as the Church is "the only exponent of Christianity." But the distinction is right and just. No pure principles are purely and perfectly concreted in any human "exponent." We once heard Dr. Olin wisely say that "it would be a poor preacher whose preaching was not above his practice." Even Gibbon could say that "in appreciation of Christianity we must remember not only by whom it was given, but to whom it was given. The principles of rational liberty are none the less rational from the fact that they have never had a perfect "exponent" in any human republic. Agnosticism endeavored to concrete them in the French Revolution, and failed so completely in the work as to compel its illustrious victim, Madame Roland, to exclaim on the scaffold, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Happy would it be for the world if rational liberty could be perfectly embodied in a State and perfect Christianity embodied in a Church. We agree with Mr. Brace in looking to the very far future for such a combination. Yet even for the politico-ecclesiastical Church of the Middle Ages, with the pope at its head, Mr. Brace justly claims that it was prime leader in the advance of civilization. In spite of the fact that the popedom stirred up many a war, it flung a controlling, peace-making influence over the internal feuds of society. It effected a public tranquillity which was the basal condition of all improvement. Nay, the very political ambition of the papacy to extend its power to the utmost limits, however anti-christic in its spirit and methods, tended to effect the unity of the European tribes, and thereby to construct our modern Christendom. And here, if we mistake not, Mr. Brace omits to give due honor to the schoolmen, the great Christian thinkers, who created a new world of thought unknown to antiquity, and taught Europe the art of subtle reason. And it was a truly congenial work which the spiritual power performed in establishing scholastic monasteries, schools, universities, and palestric exhibitions

of intellectual strength. The very art of printing was a Christian art, devoting its first work to the printing of Bibles and books of devotion. Modern civilization is so truly the work of these times that we may well speak with less disrespect of the Mediæval Ages.

Coming to the Modern Period, our author is hopeful, and, some will say, optimistic. And in these days, when an atheistic pessimism increasingly lowers upon our horizon, chilling the hopes and degrading the aims of public thought, we may well rejoice at being presented with the brighter and more inspiring Christian view. Our secular press, including such leading papers as the Tribune and the Sun, are pouring doubt into the public mind, prognosticating the decline and disappearance of our evangelical Christianity. Writers like Buckle deny the influence of moral causes in improving the moral condition of mankind. And the brief article in our present Quarterly on "Perilous Driftings" suggests that a chapter of warnings, pointing out the dangerous elements of our own system, would have well found a place in this survey. Nevertheless, Mr. Brace's "History" and Dr. Dorchester's "Problem of Religious Progress" are twin works, deserving the study of every Christian thinker, and especially every religious teacher.

Hugh Montgomery; or, Experiences of an Irish Minister and Temperance Reformer. With Sermons and Addresses. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

Mr. Montgomery is a minister in the New England Southern Conference, well known from the Canada line to Long Island Sound, but best in New Hampshire and Connecticut, and is now in his prime. His life has been an earnest and varied one, in some respects reminding us of the marvelous stories of our old Methodist pioneers, who, by God's good help, would not know defeat and always expected victory. For years his friends who have been familiar with the stirring incidents of his ministry have importuned him to publish them, and he has at length caused them to be embodied in the biographical sketch which makes three hundred pages of this volume. Much of it is his own self-told story, in language frank and simple. And his story ought to be a rousing stimulus to the multitudes of young men in the Church who must make themselves what they are to become.

Turning over the pages of the book, we find that "Hugh," as New Hampshire people name him, is an Irishman by birth, a Canadian by emigration, and an American by choice. Converted at sixteen, he connected himself with the Wesleyans of Canada. At twenty-one, with his earthly goods in a little bundle in his hand, he came into New Hampshire seeking work as a farm-hand, that he might earn money to procure an education preparatory to the ministry, if it should please God to open the way. Whether on a farm or at school, he was eager for the salvation of souls; and he was instrumental in the conversion of hundreds before he became a minister. Breaking down by the privation of poverty and excessive labor, and, as was believed, doomed to an early death, he abandoned school, proposing to do what good he could in his brief earthly stay. But he lived to become a most stalwart workman in the ministry of the Church. His fields of labor have been where hard work was to be done, and he has done it. Revivals have always followed him, in some of which hundreds were saved. He is a man of the people and knows men. His convictions are deep, and his courage in uttering them never falters. A genuine Irishman, he rather delights in a "scrimmage," and is never happier than when, with singular tact, he has his adversary in a corner. Numerous anecdotes in the volume illustrate this trait.

Mr. Montgomery's naturally deep sympathies, together with a vivid remembrance of his own early struggles, have led him into abundant contact with the poor and suffering, and it was thus that in his young manhood he was brought into his first contest with intemperance. Under his ministry numbers of reformed drunkards have been brought into the Church. While all Methodist ministers are supposed to be active advocates of temperance, few are called to the line of action into which Mr. Montgomery has been led, or possess the requisite qualifications for it. His activity and success in the punishment of illegal dealers in strong drink are described in the volume, and show him to be possessed of endowments which might excite the envy of a professional detective. In the terrible hand-to-hand struggle with the rum traffic, such men as he are needed. In the portion of the narrative given to temperance work, the chapters entitled "Testimonies of Reformed Men" and "Prohibition Enforced," the latter showing that prohibition does actually prohibit, are of particular interest. Some of the incidents recited are exceedingly mirth-provoking, while others start the tear. The bold search for the "meanest and most

abandoned drunkard" in the city, upon whom to test the power of the Gospel, ought to be a rebuke to our want of faith and courage as respects this large class among us.

A series of brief, popular "Discourses on Romanism," called forth by circumstances in Norwich, Conn., where their author resides, and listened to by many Roman Catholics, is in the "Appendix." These are followed by a few "Sermons" and "Addresses," short, direct, practical, on religious and moral topics, among them temperance having a place. They cannot fail to do good. The narrative is the most attractive portion of the volume, but the whole book is for the masses and ought to have a wide circulation.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Union with Great Britain. With Five Maps and Appendices. By CHARLES GEORGE WALPOLE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Author of "A Rubric of the Common Law." 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this work frankly disclaims all credit for original research in its composition; but, judging from his list of more than one hundred authorities cited as the sources from which his materials were derived, his knowledge of its subject was sufficiently broad to furnish him with all the facts needed to such a compendium of the events of Irish history as this volume claims to be. He aimed at nothing higher than "an outline of the leading features of the history of Ireland down to its union with Great Britain." Hence, he has produced a volume, not for scholars learned in history, but for intelligent readers who are content with facts condensed into as brief spaces as may be consistent with clear statements of important events. Viewed simply as a popular hand-book, not of the history of the Irish people, but of their government, it may be pronounced a very readable work. Its writer is evidently master of the art of condensation. He often packs important connecting thoughts into brief, luminous sentences. He is sparing of rhetoric, yet atones for its absence by force of expression and uncommon brevity of statement. Hence, though every page is crowded with incidents, he never wearies the reader with dullness, is never monotonous, but every-where vigorous and lively.

As to the fairness of the light in which events are placed, opinions will differ. There is, to be sure, a vein of apparent candor running through its composition; nevertheless its facts are not always given without betraying the secret bias of the

writer. His sympathies are evidently more with the Irish people than with the English government. Perhaps he is partly right in this, seeing that Ireland in the past has been sadly misgoverned. But, to cite one case only, he is not right in such overstatements of the severity of Cromwell as we find in his account of the settlement of Irish affairs by the great Protector after his memorable, and no doubt cruel, campaign in that distracted country. Any one who will compare our author's account with the "Declaration" of Cromwell in reply to the "Manifesto" of the Irish prelates, which may be found in Carlyle's "Cromwell," will not fail to see that, while he softens and palliates the massacres and rebellion which led to the Protector's campaign, he on the other hand greatly exaggerates the severity of the terms imposed on the Irish by the victor. Other portions of his work are open to similar exceptions. It is not, of course, to be expected that in such a brief historic sketch a writer can reason much upon the facts it contains; but, in the necessary absence of such reasoning, it is scarcely fair to so place events as to give a wrong historical bias to the reader's mind. While, therefore, we commend the literary execution of this volume, and the general correctness of its information, we advise the reader not to wholly abandon his judgment to its guidance, but to compare it with such other authorities on Irish history as may be within his reach.

James Nasmyth, Engineer. An Autobiography. Edited by SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D., author of "Lives of the Engineers," "Self-Help," "Character," etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 461.

This is a live book. It contains the record of a man of real genius inherited from his ancestors, but developed into actual power by dint of persistent activity, steady application, careful study, keen observation, and close adhesion to the maxims of common sense. Despite a few unimportant incidents in its opening chapters, there is a magnetism in its pages which keeps curiosity awake, begets a constantly deepening interest in the career of its subject, and excites warm admiration of his mental and moral qualities. In good strong Saxon it describes his limited early education, the first humble, yet really remarkable, developments of his inventive genius and mechanical skill, and so wins the sympathy of its reader that he follows him from Edinburgh to London, where he seeks admission to Maudsley's great engineering establishment, with a genuine desire for his success

and a feeling of participation in his triumph when Mr. Maudsley recognized his abilities, and installed him, not as a mere workman, but as his personal assistant in his private workshop. Equally interesting is the story of Nasmyth's entrance into business with an extremely small capital and a few machines, made chiefly by himself; of his speedy success, of the rapid growth of his establishment, of his numerous and valuable mechanical inventions, of his friendly relations with men of distinction in the scientific world, and of his acquisition of a fortune sufficient to justify his retirement from active business at the early age of forty-eight.

While there is sufficient in this book to win the charmed attention of the general reader, it has an especial value for manufacturers, draughtsmen, engineers, and mechanics, particularly to working mechanics. To the latter class it is remarkably adapted. Its common-sense apothegms, its philosophy of success in life, its illustration of the relation of thrift, industry, and earnestness to the respectability, the elevation, the happiness of the working man, and its observations on the false principles which lie at the base of most trades-unions, strikes, etc., are invaluable. Manufacturers, not of metallic goods alone, but of all kinds, could scarcely do a wiser thing in the line of enlightenment or their operatives, than to place a sufficient number of copies of this excellent volume within reach of all their *employés*; albeit, as Bancroft observes, "it is difficult for pride to put its ear to the ground, and listen to the teachings of a lowly humanity." And that pride is as rife among the lowly as it is among the more prosperous classes. Nevertheless the voice of a man once lowly as themselves may win the attention and give direction to the lives of some who are now deluded by unsound opinions with respect to labor and its relation to capital and to the real prosperity of the laborer.

Spanish Vistas. By GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP. Illustrated by Charles S. Reinhardt. 8vo, red and gilt, pp. 210. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A book of beauty. Almost every page is illustrated with pictorial sketches presenting some unique aspect of the present Spain. The pen descriptions and narratives connect them with the present Spanish life. While her sister peninsula, Italy, has been plentifully illustrated by modern description and history, Spain is still very much a land of mystery. Her remains are reliques of a romantic and gorgeous past overshadowed with present decay and ruin. Her reviviscence is yet to come, and that,

too, strangely enough, by flinging off the influences that made her mediæval glory.

Mr. Lathrop esteemed his stay in Spain too short to allow him the right to any attempt to unfold to our view the mysteries of Spanish politics. He was enabled only to catch the lights and shadows of the surface of things. But to us the most interesting passage in the book is the few lines in the preface that touch this very subject. On the Mediterranean steamer he encountered a middle-class Spaniard, who, observing the foreign accent of his attempts at Spanish, inquired with cold caution if he were an Englishman. "No," replied the writer, "I am an American of the North; of the United States." "His manner," says our author, "changed at once; he thawed; more than that, his face lighted with hope, as if he had found a powerful friend, and he gazed at me with a certain delighted awe, attributing to my person a glory for which I was in no way responsible. 'You are a republican, then,' he exclaimed. 'Yes.' He gave me another long, silent look, and then confessed that he, too, was a firm believer in republicanism." But as to the present Spain it is strikingly added, "Philip II. still rules." Yes, both Charles V. and Philip II. still rule over Spain, and thus it is that her ancient glory is her modern ruin. Emancipation from her past can alone create her happy future. And how much more glorious is this pre-eminence of being able to say, "I am an American of the great United Republic of the North," to that ancient memorable boast, "I am a Roman citizen."

Pamphlets.

"*Our Man of Macedonia:*" His Needs and Our Duties. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, D.D., President of Paine Institute, Augusta, Ga. Printed at the Southern Methodist Publishing House.

This eloquent sermon was delivered by Dr. Callaway before the students of Emory College and the citizens of Oxford, Ga., as his farewell to the scenes of his professorial labors on leaving for his presidential duties at the Paine Institute. The establishment of this Institute for the education of colored teachers and preachers, the high Christian tone of the discourse itself, and its publication at the Nashville House, are significant of a new chapter in the history of the Church South. The old purpose of retaining

the Negro race in ignorance and pariahism is fairly abandoned. He is accepted as no longer a serf, but a citizen. Culture, mental development, and fair play for showing what he is and can become are not only accorded to him, but aid and means are to be bestowed upon him for the process. On this high platform Dr. Callaway places himself; his utterances are free, frank, hearty, and profoundly sincere; the work can be safely trusted in his able hands; and every friend of both races will applaud him in the undertaking, and rejoice in his success.

Firmly maintaining the unity of the human race, he asks indignantly: "Are we to let the seven million negroes in our midst perish for lack of knowledge, and the civilization of Africa, for which Livingstone died and Stanley imperiled himself, be indefinitely postponed? Are we Christian men and women permitting the sophistry of a former servile relation to impose on our judgment and retard our offices of kindness to the race that cries to us from the depths of a pitiable poverty?"—Pp. 8, 9. He grounds his plea on a common Christian humanity, on the kindly sentiment between the two races, on the great services of Negro labor in the past to both South and North, on his faithfulness to the South in the late war, and on his good behavior and manifested fair capacity for culture since the war. On his services of labor in the past we have the following frank statement:

Not to speak of lighter services at our homes, and in personal attendance, it is in order to recall the fact that the Negro's lusty strokes felled the forests from the Chesapeake to the Gulf of Mexico; that his spade drained our swamps and lowlands; that he followed the plow over every acre of our fields; that his pick dug out all the ores smelted in our furnaces; that his scoop and dump-cart graded our Southern railways; and that though he does not monopolize the labor in our factories, yet his labor produced the cotton our mills have spun and the mills of America have woven. His toil alone clothes at least the poor of two continents. If exemption from the severer forms of bodily toil be a relief, if leisure for learning or pleasure produced without sacrifice be a boon, if the prosperous industries and the high civilization of our section be a blessing, for this relief and boon and blessing we are largely indebted to the Negro.—Page 11.

Dr. Callaway contemptuously repudiates the excuse of some Southerners from aiding the Negroes made on the ground that "others liberated them, by these others they should be cared for." He repudiates it, reasoning from the Negro's innocence of the "red-handed war" that emancipated him. But does not the above catalogue of services received furnish a far more overwhelming reason? The Negro has enriched the South, to say nothing of the North, and has been deprived of his wages, and left poor as poverty itself. Is he not entitled to repayment from the South of his education-money, with an overwhelming amount of interest?

for payment delayed? After all the South will or even can do, she is left in bankruptcy and repudiation of dues to those terrible colored creditors.

Perhaps in the following paragraph Dr. Callaway shows "the wisdom of the serpent :"

He has lost his reckoning who inquires fearfully if it be a proper thing, or a possible thing, to educate the Negro. The best men always acknowledged its rightfulness. The proudest intellect this Southland has produced, in a lecture on slavery, delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, January, 1856—he then being United States Senator from Georgia—in answering objections to slavery, said: "It is objected that our slaves are debarred the benefits of education. This objection is well taken, and not without force. And for this evil the slaves are greatly indebted to the abolitionists. Formerly in none of the slave States was it forbidden to teach slaves to read and write; but the character of the literature sought to be furnished them by the abolitionists caused these States to take counsel rather of their passions than of their reason, and to lay the ax at the root of the evil. Better counsels will in time prevail, and this will be remedied. It is true that the slave, from his protected position, has less need of education than the free laborer who has to struggle for himself in the welfare of society; yet it is useful to him, to his master, and to society." So Robert Toombs in 1856.—Pp. 9, 10.

To the statement of Senator Toombs, that "the Abolitionists" were responsible for the anti-education laws, that sharp-tongued set had, of course, their ever-ready keen reply. They paralleled Senator Toombs with Pharaoh, who inflicted deeper oppression on the crushed race because Moses sought its emancipation. And they called to mind how far more horrible was the modern Pharaoh's cruelty in that he brutalized his victim with ignorance in order to make him more securely his victim. And on the providential deliverance of ancient Israel from his task-master, the said sharp-tongued abolitionist grounded a prediction—with what terrible truth fulfilled!—that God would with mighty power deliver the Negro. Dr. Callaway does not quote the Senator in approbation of his excuse for passing anti-education laws, but to show that even he, the *Bourbonissimus Bourbonorum*, avowed that "better counsels" required negro education.

Dr. Callaway pays the following brief but explicit tribute to the earlier labors in the field :

The Freedman's Bureau, the many Missionary Societies of the North, a Slater, and other good persons and corporations, have helped nobly; but, notwithstanding their munificence, so gross is the darkness, and so wide-spread, that it seems that only a few light-houses have been erected where there should be a light burning in every district and in every community.—Page 14.

This is, indeed, altogether better than even good Dr. Duncan's ridicule—most untrue—of the "ignorance," etc., of the "Northern school-marms," and Dr. Summers' denunciation of our whole mission work as an oppressive invasion of the South. And yet a

fuller acknowledgment of the heroic labors of Dr. Rust and his compeers, amid cold-shoulders and sneers and persecutions, would have been graceful, but perhaps not yet quite "wise and prudent." Dr. Callaway claims, unwarily, "We of the South, as best knowing his capacity," . . . should be intrusted with the responsible duty. . . . "We are his guardians." This was the language with which the attempt was early made to exclude Northern teachers and prevent all education of the Negro. "The South alone," forsooth, "knew the Negro." But the South did not know the Negro until the Northern teachers in the South revealed the true Negro to her so clearly that she could neither ignore nor deny. It is the absoluteness of that revelation, we are happy to say, that calls our noble Professor to his glorious mission. He anticipates, most justly, in his work an advance of "true frateruity." He will be welcomed by his predecessors in the noble work, and our two Methodisms will have one more ground of goodly fellowship.

Miscellaneous.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Fourth Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Whatever other faults may be charged upon Mr. Froude as a writer, he is never guilty of what Johnson used to call "the most fatal of all faults." He never wrote a dull line. And he is something more than the brilliant rhetorician. He has that historical imagination which enables him, out of dry and meager materials, to reanimate the past and make its men and women live before us. But he has *les défauts de ses qualités*, too. He has sometimes mistaken the picturesque for the true. He is always something of an advocate, and has now and then pressed his brilliant imagination into the service of his theories. He has never made any pretensions to the impossibility of viewing the men and events of the past as a strictly impartial observer; but he has rather too often shown something of the skillful pleader's liking for a hard case.

All these qualities are discernible in the concluding volume of the "Short Studies." The opening papers on Thomas Becket were roughly criticised by Mr. Freeman, when they first appeared in the "Nineteenth Century," some six years ago. Mr. Freeman has always shown a rather crabbed resolution not to like

any thing that Mr. Froude can write ; in this case, however, though pointing out numerous instances of rather careless writing and hasty inference, he failed, we think, to discredit the general truth of Mr. Froude's picture of Becket's life and times. The papers are here reprinted, if we mistake not, without correction or change, as they appeared in the "Nineteenth Century." Mr. Froude's Protestantism is of a very thorough-going sort, and it is always roused by any claim of supernatural powers for the priesthood, whether in the days of Becket, or of Laud, or of Pusey. It is natural, therefore, that of the various hypotheses by which Becket's conduct may be explained, he should choose the one that bears hardest on the prelate. Yet, although written with something of partisan zeal, his story of this first great struggle between crown and clergy seems to us substantially just; it is certainly very graphic.

The paper on Origen and Celsus, and that on Alexander of Abonatichus are interesting sketches, but contain nothing new. The story of "Cheneys and the House of Russell," is a charming piece of historical gossip, brightened with bits of graceful description. But by far the most valuable portions of the book are the chapters on the Oxford Tractarian Movement. We venture the opinion that nowhere else, in like compass, can be found so vivid a sketch of the rise of the movement, its leaders, and its effect upon that large class of Englishmen of whom Mr. Froude is a representative. These brief papers are worth vastly more than Mr. Mozley's dull volumes, which promised us so much and gave us so little.

Of Cardinal Newman, Mr. Froude speaks with the loving reverence of early discipleship. The secret of Newman's wonderful influence over those who knew him in the Oxford days has rarely been better indicated. But of the results of the movement in which Newman was the leader, Mr. Froude can speak only in the most gloomy terms. Just before that movement began, at the beginning of the second quarter of this century, the Church of England, Mr. Froude thinks, was in excellent case. It had intelligence ; it had energy ; it retained much of the spiritual fervor which was generated by the Wesleyan movement ; it was liberal to Dissenters ; it was active in philanthropic and humanitarian endeavor ; it was teaching men to be honest and just, to obey God, and not ask questions.

"It was orthodox, without being theological. Doctrinal problems were little thought of. Religion, as taught in the Church

of England, meant moral obedience to the will of God. The speculative part of it was accepted, because it was assumed to be true. The creeds were reverentially repeated; but the essential thing was practice. . . . About doctrine, Evangelical or Catholic, I do not think that in my early boyhood I ever heard a single word, in church or out of it. The institution had drifted into the condition of what I should call moral health. People went to church because they liked it, because they knew they ought to go, and because it was the custom. They had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds. Christianity had wrought itself into the constitution of their nature." The Church, in Mr. Froude's opinion, was then in "the healthiest condition it had ever known." But then came the epoch of political reform, of scientific criticism, and of the "counter-reformation," as Mr. Froude calls it, in the Church. And what is the result?

"The nation has ceased to care what the clergy say or do. The Church of England, as part of the Constitution of the country, has ceased to exist. As the Church has become "Catholic," the honored name of Protestant has passed to the Non-conformist. The laity stand aloof indifferent and contemptuous. The thinking part of it has now a seriousness of its own and a philosophy of its own which has also grown and is growing. . . . The storm will die away, agitation is wearisome, and we may subside into a dull acquiescence even with the travesty of ecclesiasticism which is now in possession of the field. But the active mind of the country will less and less concern itself with a system which it despises. A ritualist English Church will be as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman augurs over the Rome of Cicero and Cæsar; and centuries will pass before religion and common sense will again work together with the practical harmony which existed between them in the days of Whately and Arnold, and Hare and Sedgwick."

If this *were* the destined future of the English Church, even for the next fifty years, the outlook would indeed be sad. But Mr. Froude is neither accurate seer nor inspired prophet. The liberalist is not always liberal; and a late quotation in our Quarterly from Dr. Rigg furnishes a much fairer estimate of the Ritualistic "revival" as a movement inspiring the Church to much that is excellent, and quite preferable to the sleepy half-belief of Whately and the others. The remaining years of this century will suffice to show that it is not the Church of Pusey and Keble,

but the Church of disestablishment and evangelical revival, which will rule the future. Such a Church, concerned not so much with forms and rites as with the essentials of Christian faith and life, will live because it is true to the spirit of its Master's teaching, because it is broad enough to embrace all truth, and is in sympathy with all that is genuinely progressive.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Text in the Authorized Translation; With a Commentary and Critical Notes. By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.A.S., etc. A New Edition. Condensed, and Supplemented from the Best Modern Authorities. By DANIEL CURRY, LL.D. Vol. I. The Gospels and Acts. Imp. 8vo, pp. 541. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament Embracing the Marginal Readings of the English Revisers, as well as those of the American Committee. By JOHN ALEXANDER THOMS. 8vo, pp. 532. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Wisdom of Holy Scripture. With Reference to Skeptical Objections. By J. H. M'ILVAINE. Small 8vo, pp. 488. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Gospel of the Secular Life. Sermons Preached at Oxford. With a Prefatory Essay. By the Hon. W. H. FREMANTLE, Late Fellow of All Souls, Rector of Saint Mary's, Bryanston Square, and Canon of Canterbury. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Poems. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Life of Christ. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Counselor of the Consistory, and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by JOHN WALTER HOPE, M.A. Vol I, 8vo, pp. 394. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated from the Third Revised Edition by REV. JAMES E. DUGUID, New Machar. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 450. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

Hand-Books for Bible Classes. The Epistle to the Romans. With Introduction and Notes by DAVID BROWN, D.D., Principal and Professor of Divinity, Free Church, Coll., Aberdeen. 12mo, pp. 152. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

The Doom of the Majority of Mankind. By SAMUEL J. BASSOWS. 12mo, pp. 151. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1883.

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